When a man is ill or unfortunate, it is necessary for him to seek someone who will find the cause and who will either cure him or release him from his misfortune. Such people are known under various names: *alhacci*, conjuror; *mānāric*, hysterical; *körbüöccū*, prophet; *icān*, sorcerer; *oyūn*, shaman; *udahan*, woman-shaman. 756

Their ideas as to the creation of the world have not been affected by contact with Christianity. In their religious constructions, the Yakut start from what exists and, in their own way, explain the changes in the order of things which existed from the beginning. The very conception of creation, expressed in the word *ai*, is very close to the notion of arrangement or transformation. *Ajȳsyt*, the goddess of lying-in, is called creative generator, but this means only that she brings the child's soul, is present, and assists while in child-bed. 772 177

Although parents are responsible for a child while it is growing, it may itself be punished for disrespect towards the spirits. When he has reached maturity, marries, and establishes his own household, he selects a place to build a house, but it has its owner-spirit from whom it is necessary to obtain permission to proceed. When the house, stall, and shelter for cattle are ready, each of these buildings, as well as the new fireplace, has its own "owners" with whom it is important to enter into good relations. To procure food and clothing for the family it is necessary to hunt in the woods and to fish in the lakes, but forests and waters have their own owners, without whose permission one cannot use the utilities they supervise. That the family may have adequate provision, the cattle must propagate, and for this, corresponding spirits must be propitiated. For the cattle, one needs to store hay, but grass grows in places belonging to particular owners. While traveling, a man passes the possessions of different owners, who must be conciliated with gifts or appropriate prayers. Thus, we see a well organized system in the relations of man to the circle of spirits. However, a closer investigation shows the system to consist of heterogeneous elements. To give some examples:— 776 783

A man-shaman is called *oyūn* and a woman-shaman, *udahan*. Both play an important rôle in Yakut beliefs. While *oyūn* is a Turkic word, *udahan* is adopted from the Mongolian language. Why? Why also is a woman-shaman regarded as more powerful than a man shaman? Why may *oyūn* enter into the formation of compound words (for instance, *mas oyūn*, a wooden shaman, is called the humming top) while *udahan* may not be so used? Why may *oyūn* and not *udahan* be part of words designating inanimate objects? 756 177

776 782 174 We have previously seen how carefully the Yakut allotted their spirits to different worlds and cardinal points. The *Abasy*, however, appear to dwell partly in the upper world and partly in the lower one. Further, to those *Abasy* (plur. *Abasylar*) who dwell only in the upper world horses are sacrificed, while to the *Abasy* of the lower world only horned cattle are offered. These spirits have their own households and cattle; but the upper *Abasy* have only horses while the lower ones have only horned cattle. While the *Ajÿsyt* (the goddess of birth) of horses appears to be a man-spirit, the *Ajÿsyt* of horned cattle is a woman spirit. This difference alone leads us to believe that we have here a compound of two conceptions of nature, the result of a consolidation of two different cultures. The man's *Ajÿsyt* is a woman to whom are addressed pleas for children, while prayers for the increase of horses and horned cattle are addressed to the earth's spirit owner. Why were only horses and not horned cattle consecrated to the supreme being, *Ürūñ Ajy Toyon*?

● 756 326 174 We have previously seen that *udahan* is a Mongol word and that *us* (smith) is Turkic. The Yakut, when comparing the power of black shamans and smiths, regard the latter as more powerful. They make no comparisons with reference to the *udahan's* power, but say that *udahans* are more powerful than men-shamans. The Yakut preserved the names of their former white shamans, but not those of white women-shamans. From this we might infer that white shamanism was not an aboriginal institution, and that black shamanism is a transformation of female shamans after their functions were transferred to men. No tales of white smiths (smiths working with copper and silver) are extant, but accounts of black smiths (iron smiths) relate that they are more powerful than black shamans. This leads us to the belief that the concept of black smiths and women-shamans appeared as ready-made institutions among the Yakut.

776 764 We will cite another example. We have previously mentioned the upper and lower *Abasy* spirits, that the former possess horses (and also demand horses as sacrifices) and the latter, horned cattle. At burials the horse of the deceased was killed and buried with its master. Such horses had a special name, *xolynga*. At home a mare was killed in memory of the deceased. It was called *ülā asa*, the worker's food, and was for those who made all the preparations for the burial. Later, a cow was substituted for the mare. When the number of horses decreased, the dead horse was not buried, but eaten at home. Still later, the flesh of a cow was eaten instead of a horse.

From the above it is obvious that the pre-Christian beliefs of the Yakut require further investigation to disentangle the different layers.

SHAMANISM

Shamans (*saxa ababyta*, Yakut priest, and *sābāki* in the Viliuisk 756
District) are divided into two classes, white or creative shamans (*Ajÿ* 776
aÿuna) and black or malevolent beings' shamans (*Abasy oyuna*). The 782
white shaman serves as an intermediary between benevolent creative 842
beings and mankind, whom he does not and cannot harm. He has no special shamanistic dress and does not even possess a drum. He bestows only blessings and asks the White-Lord-Creator to make beneficent gifts. He seldom addresses any other sky-dweller but the White-Lord-Creator: for instance, to cure barrenness he appeals to *Mohan Sylgylax* or some other deity. He does not kill cattle as a sacrifice; he only dedicates them to some sky dweller, after which the animal is not required to perform any work and is cared for and well fed.

The black shaman serves as an inter- 756
mediary between evil spirits and men. He 776
cures sick people by extracting from them the evil spirits causing the illness. The power and ability of the black shaman varies. His spirit protectors may dwell in the upper, middle, or lower worlds. The most powerful shaman is one who has wolf and bear spirits as his protectors. The black shaman may also harm men against whom he is ill-disposed, casting diseases and miseries on them.

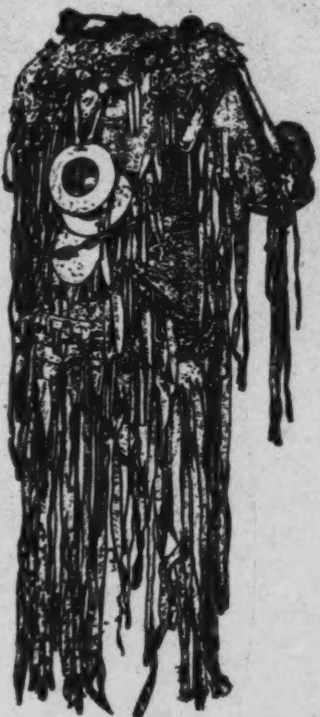

Fig. 2 (70-9070). The Back of a Shaman's Ceremonial Coat.

Some information on Yakut shamanism was given in my publications on the Koryak and Yukaghir.[1] Here I shall treat the subject in more detail and add new drawings and additional explanations to the illustrations in these previous publications.

The Shaman's Coat. I succeeded in securing for the Museum three 756
costumes of Yakut shamans. Two were secured in the Yakut District of 292

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[1] Jochelson, Waldemar, The Koryak (*Memoirs, American Museum of Natural History*, vol. 10, 1905–1908), 21, 30, 36, 48, 53, 56, 57, 59, 61, 91, 92, 101, 103, 113, 119, 120; Jochelson, Waldemar, The Yukaghir and Yukaghirized Tungus (*Memoirs, American Museum of Natural History*, vol. 13, 1910–1926), 135, 158, 159, 182, 183, 185, 186.

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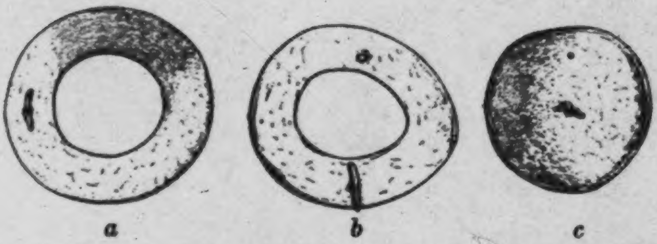

Fig. 3 *a–c* (70–9070). Three Iron Discs attached to the Back of the Shaman's Coat shown in Fig. 2. The discs represent the sun and moon which illuminate the shaman's path to the subterranean world and the ice hole for descending to the lower world.

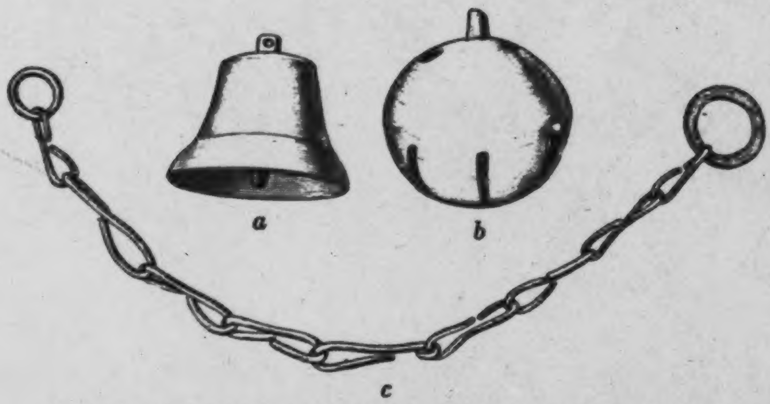

Fig. 4 *a–c* (70–9070). Appendages to the Back of the Shaman's Coat (Fig. 2). *a*, A copper bell; *b*, A copper rattle; *c*, An iron chain which is held by the shaman's assistant to prevent the spirits from carrying him off.

Yakut Province, east of the city of Yakutsk, while one was obtained on 756●
the Kolyma River. 292

The back view of a Yakut shaman's dress, *oyún kirár tañasá* [115]
(shaman's rite coat) is shown in Fig. 2. It was bought in the Meginski *ulus* of the Yakutsk District from the Yakut, Slyeptsov, who explained the significance of its different parts. Although Slyeptsov himself, was not a shaman, his explanations do agree generally with the descriptions of Yakut shaman's costumes furnished by other investigators, primarily Pekarsky and Vasilyev.[1] The coat is made of poorly tanned calf hides. During his performance, the shaman wears it next to his naked body. Above the shoulder blades, across the back, is sewn a band of thick bull hide, to which are attached iron and copper pendants and small rattles. Similar bands are sewn on below it, across the entire back.

Under the upper pendants (*kisan*) on the back of the coat may be 532
seen three iron discs (Fig. 3*a*–*c*). The lower disc (Fig. 3*c*), which has a 756
somewhat spherical concave surface is called, according to Vasilyev, 292
kūn (sun). When the shaman descends into the dark lower world during his performance, the *kūn* must light his path. According to my own notes, this disc is called *yi-kūsāña*, i.e., the moon disc, thus representing the moon. The middle disc (Fig. 3*b*), with a somewhat irregular hole, is called *kūn-kūsāñá*, that is, the sun disc. It represents the shaman's sun, which must illuminate his path during his journey to the subterranean world. The upper disc with a hole (Fig. 3*a*) is called *oibón-kūsāñá*. *Oibón*, ice hole, refers to the hole through which the shaman descends to the lower world, the world of evil spirits.

Still another iron disc, called *ān yā doidu*, original earth-mother, is mentioned by Vasilyev. According to the explanation given to him by a shaman the disc represents the earth, which the shaman, when flying on a cloud to the upper worlds, retains as a warrant that he will be returned to the earth. The hole in this disc is also called *oibón*, ice hole; this is somewhat contradictory to the usual meaning of *oibón* as an ice hole through which the shaman descends to the lower world.

All the metallic pendants of the shaman's coat are called *kisan*, although some have special names. Copper bells, small rattles, and bells in the form of bivalvular shells are called *xobo-kisan*. The metallic bivalvular shell has not been figured, but these shells may be seen on the

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[1] Pekarsky, E. K., The Coat and Drum of the Yakut Shaman: Materials on the Ethnography of Russia, Vol. 1 (*Publications of the Ethnographical Division of the Russian Museum of the Emperor Alexander III*, St. Petersburg, 1910, in Russian); Vasilyev, V. M., Description d'un Costume et d'un Tambourin de Chaman chez des Jakuts (*Publications du Musée d'Anthropologie et d'Ethnographie de l'Académie Impériale des Sciences de St.-Pétersbourg*, vol. 1, part 2, no. 8, pp. 1–47, St.-Pétersbourg, 1910, in Russian).

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upper part of the back under the collar, together with copper bells and rattles.

Three copper bells like that in Fig. 4*a* are attached to the back of the coat, two on the shoulders, and one under the collar. A copper rattle may be seen in Fig. 4*b*. Fig. 4*c* illustrates the iron chain called *tāsin*, that is, bridle, on the back. It is attached to rings which are sewn to the coat under the armpits. The assistant holds the shaman by this chain to prevent the spirits from carrying him off, when his soul departs for the lower regions or towards heaven.

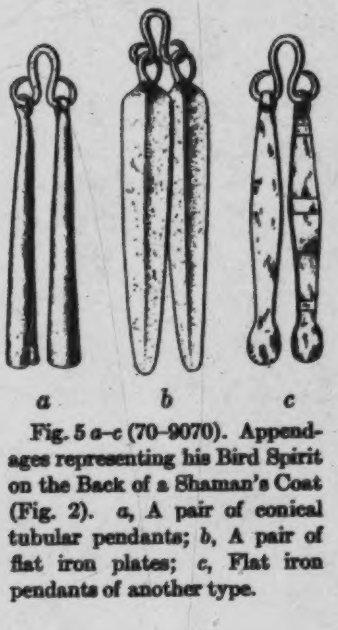

Fig. 5 *a–c* (70–9070). Appendages representing his Bird Spirit on the Back of a Shaman's Coat (Fig. 2). *a*, A pair of conical tubular pendants; *b*, A pair of flat iron plates; *c*, Flat iron pendants of another type.

A pair of pendants in the shape of conical hollow iron tubes called *coñdoi kīsan* is illustrated in Fig. 5*a*. Fig. 5*b* shows another pair of pendants made of flat lancet-like iron plates, called *cilliritkīsan* and representing the feathers of the bird which appears as the shaman's spirit. A pair of another type of flat iron pendants represents bird feathers (Fig. 5c).

An elongated iron strap (Fig. 6*b*) attached to the upper part of the sleeve at the back, between the shoulder and elbow, is called *tabītal timira*; that is, upper-arm-iron. It should be noted that *tabītal* means the humerus of birds. The shorter iron strap (Fig. 6*a*), sewn to the sleeve between the elbow and wrist, is called *xari-timira* (*xari*, human forearm

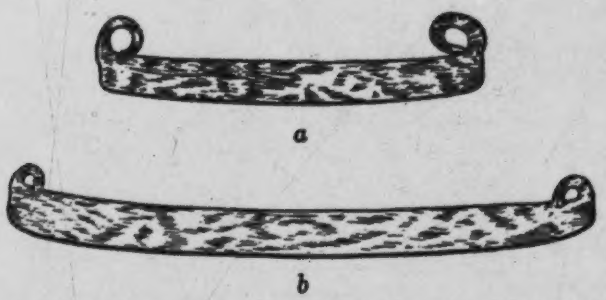

Fig. 6 *ab* (70–9070). Two Iron Bands attached to the Back of the Sleeves of a Shaman's Coat (Fig. 2). *a*, Represents the forearm bone; *b*, Represents the upper arm.

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bones). The iron band representing the upper arm is called a bird's humerus, while the representation of the bones of the forearm is called after the corresponding human bones. However, for the plate representing the upper arm, Pekarsky and Vasilyev give another term, *akīmal*, which really means human humerus. Vasilyev states that one shaman did not call the lower plate representing the forearm, *tari*, that is, human forearm bones, but *xotohoi*, bird's stroke feathers. If these pendants on the sleeves represent parts of the skeleton of a deceased shaman, it is interesting to note the confusion of bird and human bones. I agree, however, with Vasilyev that no contradiction is involved in such confusion. If we assume that the Yakut shamanistic coat, like that of the Yukaghir, represents a bird's skin, with the help of which the shaman is transformed into a bird, then, at the moment of transformation, he is a bird-man. He is supposed to rise to the upper world by means of his coat, whereas he descends to the lower world through the ice-hole disc previously mentioned. On the other hand, some Yakut gave different interpretations for the iron pendants. These were said to serve as a kind of armor in a contest with hostile shamans and spirits. Slyeptzov, a Yakut, gave me a similar explanation of two iron plates sewn on in place of the shoulder blades and called *sarīn-timira*, that is, shoulder irons. These iron shoulder blades were said to protect the shaman in conflicts with more powerful shamans.

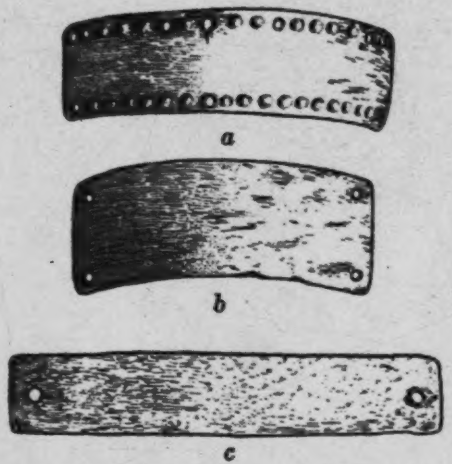

Fig. 7 *abc* (70-9070). Appendages to the Shaman's Coat (Fig. 2). These are transverse bent iron plates attached at the bend of the elbow and at the edge of the sleeves and represent the elbow joint and the wrist (*a*, *b*) and one of the ribs of the shaman's spirit (c).

On the sleeves, at the top, are transverse bent iron plates (Fig. 7*a*–*b*), one at the bend of the elbow, the other at the edge of the sleeve. These represent the elbow joint and the wrist. Below the elbows, on both sides of the coat, we find seven iron plates running parallel to each other. Four are sewn on at the right side, as may be seen in Fig. 2.

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It appears that the end of one plate has loosened and hangs on one strap. On the left side, are only three plates. All seven plates are called *oyohostimir*, that is, iron ribs. On a Yukaghir shaman's coat we found fourteen ribs (*nugored-amunpe*, that is, side bones),[1] seven on each side. We have no explanation for the seven ribs represented on the Yakut shaman's coat. On the coat described by Vasilyev and Pekarsky,[2] only seven ribs were represented.

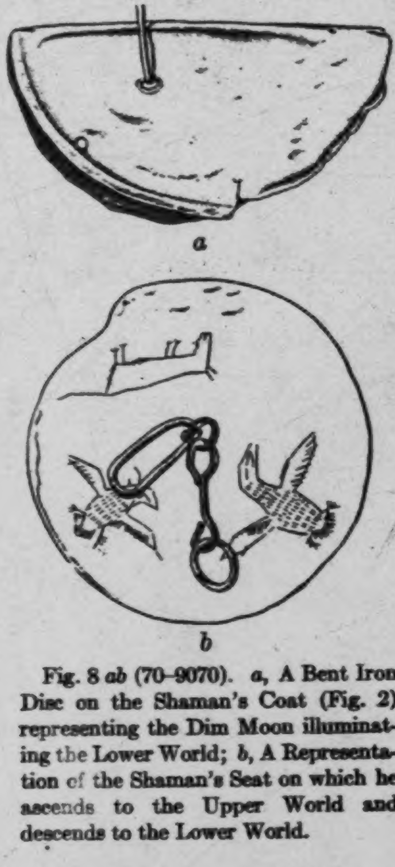

Fig. 8 *ab* (70–9070). *a*, A Bent Iron Disc on the Shaman's Coat (Fig. 2) representing the Dim Moon illuminating the Lower World; *b*, A Representation of the Shaman's Seat on which he ascends to the Upper World and descends to the Lower World.

Fig. 7*c* represents one of the ribs.

Fig. 8*a* shows a half-circle called *kältähäi yi* (that is, half moon), made of a bent iron disc, with cracked edges. Such a dim moon illuminated the lower world. A quite massive irregular iron circle (Fig. 8*b*), somewhat convex on the obverse and concave on the reverse, called *küsäñä*, represents the shaman's seat (*oyūn oloho*), on which he ascends to the upper worlds and descends to the lower worlds when performing shamanistic rites, in accordance with the requirements of the moment. On the convex side are three engraved figures: two birds and a land animal. Some authors translate the word *küsäñä* as sun (instead of *kūn*). The birds are probably ravens and the animal represents a wolf. Attached to the central loop are two iron pendants representing the sun's tail (*küsäñä kuturuga*); one (a ring and a hook) is called *balyk kȳsān* (fish-like pendant); the other (an elongated link), *köndöi kȳsān* (hollowed tube).

The pendant illustrated in Fig. 9*a* is called *bālānjik*, which means, the edge of the sleeve. There is one such iron piece for each sleeve, each representing the shaman's hand with five iron fingers "strong and clinging like iron." Some *bālānjiks* have six fingers to show that the shaman

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[1] See Jochelson, Yukaghir, 178.
[2] Pekarsky, and Vasilyev, *ibid.*

is not like an ordinary man, but has much more power. Another pendant 756●
(Fig. 9*b*) is called *xopto*, gull, and represents one of the upper spirits 292
related to the *irär ämägät* (see below). 532

We turn now to the front of the Yakut shaman's coat (Fig. 10). Two iron pieces (Fig. 11*c–d*) fastened to the coat under the chin, on the breast piece, represent the clavicles. Unfortunately I do not find their Yakut name in my records. Fig. 11*f* shows one of the copper circles on the breast piece of the coat (see Fig. 10). These are called *oyūn ōmiyin kärätä*, shaman's breast nipples. Fig. 11*e* is called *jäs ämägät*, copper representation of the head of the *yörs*, i.e., of souls of the departed, who fly over the earth and distribute diseases that people may bestow offerings on them and thus be released from pain. In addition to the *jäs ämägät*, on some shamans' coats, is another copper man-figure called *külär ämägät*, the laughing spirit, or *irär-ämägät*, the raving spirit. It represents one of the upper evil spirits, which causes madness. A

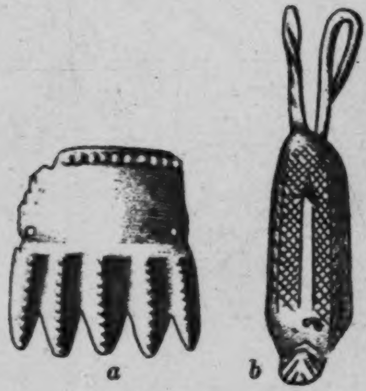

Fig. 9 *ab* (70–9070). Pendants on the Shaman's Coat (Fig. 2). *a*, Represents the shaman's hand with five iron fingers; *b*, Represents a gull, one of the upper spirits.

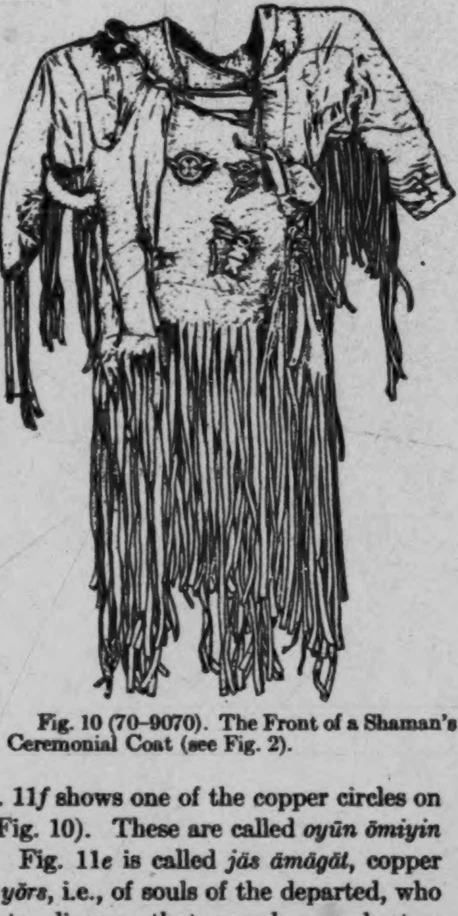

Fig. 10 (70–9070). The Front of a Shaman's Ceremonial Coat (see Fig. 2).

● 756 392 532 stork (*kytalyk*) spirit made of an iron plate is represented in Fig. 11*b*. Fig. 11*a* represents a grebe (*kushas*) spirit. One of the spirits of the upper world, related to the *irär-ämägät* (raving spirit causing madness) is in the shape of a grebe, stork, or gull (*xopto*). All three bird spirits appear as assistants and executors of the shaman's orders. To extract from the body of a patient the spirit causing the illness the Yakut shaman pecks the ailing part with the beak of the iron grebe attached to his ceremonial coat.

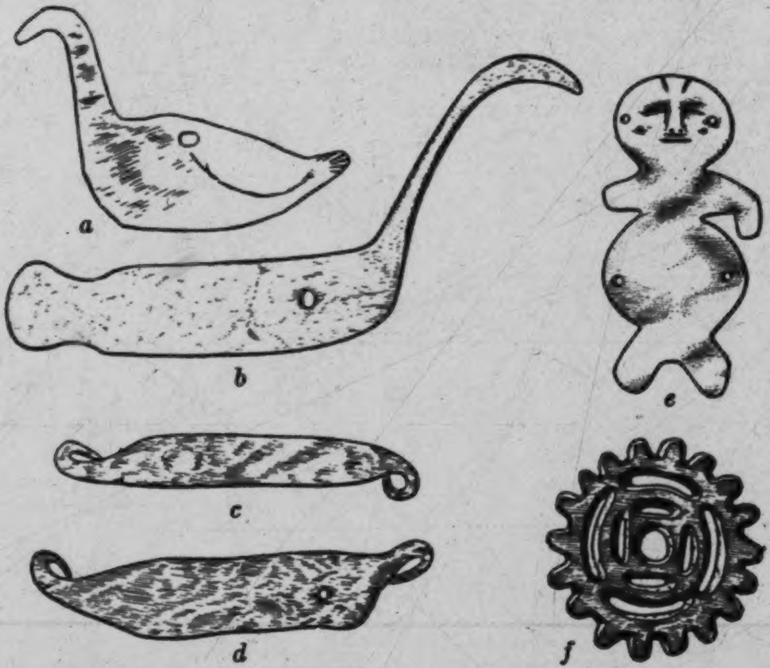

Fig. 11 *a–f* (70–9070). Ornaments on the Front of the Shaman's Coat shown in Fig. 10. *a*, Representation of a grebe spirit; *b*, Representation of a stork spirit; *c–d*, Two pieces of iron representing the clavicles, fastened to the coat under the chin; *e*, Copper representation of the head of the souls of the departed; *f*, One of two copper discs representing the shaman's breast nipples.

There are many other copper or iron figures on the shaman's garb which are not on the costume described; for instance, the *yt* (dog), a flat iron figure representing a dog, is one of the shaman's assistant-spirits, which bites and gnaws the shaman's enemies or their relatives. To be

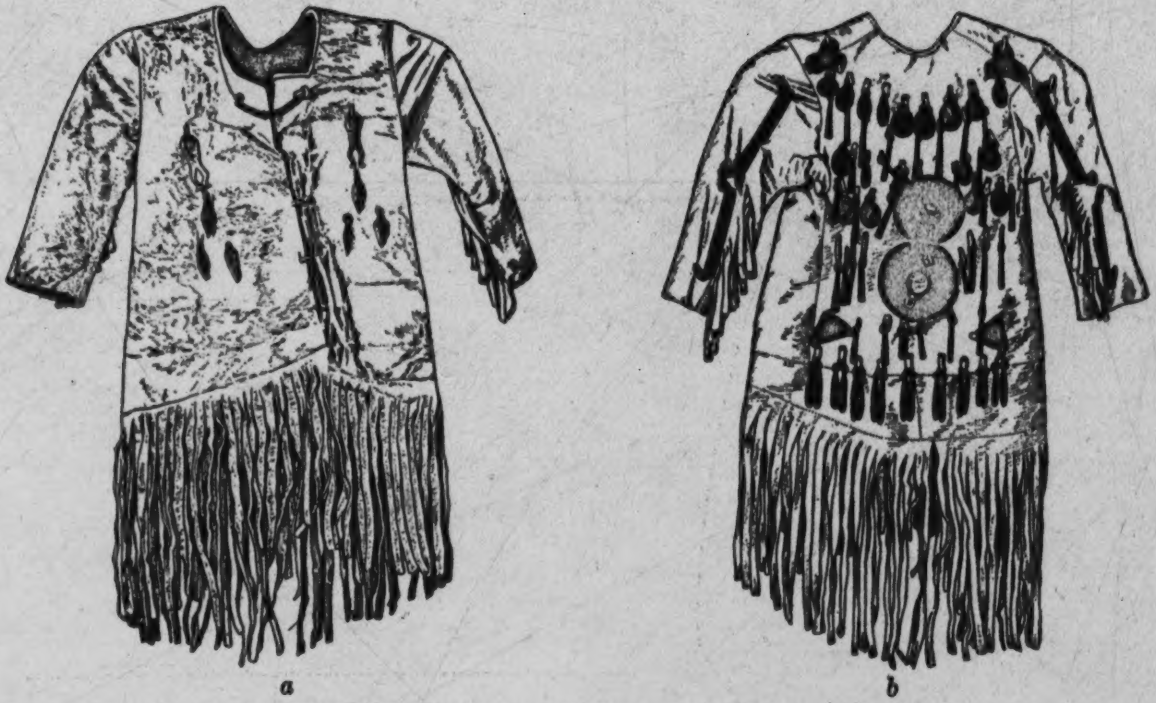

Fig. 12 (70-8861). Front and Back of a Typical Shaman's Coat.

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● 756 released from the illness caused by the dog spirit it is necessary to appeal
292 to its shaman master.

532 The front of the Yakut shaman's coat (Fig. 10) has no special breast piece. Between the left side of the coat and the breast is a seam, but, in my opinion, the front piece is not the remainder of an apron which characterizes Tungus or Yukaghir clothing. It is simply a piece of skin attached to eke out the scantiness of the material. However, the coat is not fastened along a median line at the front as it ought to be, but nearer to the right hand, and thus the breast piece looks like a chest protector.

The front of a Yakut shaman's dress of genuine cut is shown in Fig. 12*a*. There is no breast piece at all. The front borders are held together by tying strings. There are two *jäs ämägät* (see Fig. 11*e*), and six iron spear points, which the shaman uses in fighting evil spirits. A bent piece of iron below the neck is regarded as a chest protector. The back of the same coat may be seen in Fig. 12*b*. The two iron discs represent the sun and moon. The flat and the hollow iron pendants, the bivalve decorations, and the bands representing the humerus and forearm have already been discussed.

Two triangular figures near the shoulders represent the shaman's shoulder blades, called *sarīn-timirā*, that is, shoulder-irons, and two triangular iron plates below the waist represent his pelvic bones.[1] It must be remembered that the iron plates which represent human bones form the shaman's skeleton. On this coat the representation of ribs and the bridle by which the assistant holds the shaman to prevent the spirits from carrying him off are missing.

For comparative purposes reference should be made to a photograph of a Yakut shaman which I took on the Kolyma River in 1895.[2] Here a separate apron may be clearly seen under the straps on the edge of the coat. But the coat is not Yakut. The representation of shamanistic birds on the apron recalls the aprons of Yukaghir shamans. On each side of the coat we find seven ribs.

Fig. 13 represents the back of a Yakut shaman's dress which I secured on the Kolyma River, at Rodchevo Village not far from Verkhne Kolymsk. This dress has an absolutely different pattern which I have not encountered elsewhere and which does not tally with any of the descriptions in the literature of Yakut shamanism. The peculiarities of the pattern and the absence of the metallic pendants so characteristic of Yakut shamanistic costume, may be explained in part by Tungus

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[1] Another informant called the triangles below the discs *oyun-sulus*, that is, shaman's stars.

[2] See Jochelson, Yukaghir, Plate IX, Fig.1.

influence, and to some extent by the high cost and difficulty of securing 756
iron and copper in the northern sections of Yakut Province. The coat 292
is made of dressed reindeer hide, instead of the calf hide usually employed 177
by the Yakut. The skirt of the coat is not sewn to the upper half, but is
buckled to the latter under the fringe at the belt, so that the garment
may be lengthened or shortened to fit the shaman. The sleeves are not
in one piece, but consist of longitudinal strips of hide sewn to the shoulders
and to the leather rings at the elbow and wrist. This coat is not
worn over the naked body, but over the ordinary dress. The pendants, [532]
kīsan, on the coat consist of tassels strung with beads and of copper
tubes with copper discs sewn to their ends. On the back a longitudinal
tasseled strip ending in a tail represents the vertebræ, *tonohos*. The tail
consists of an iron arrow with iron pendants at the sides, called *jil kīsan*.

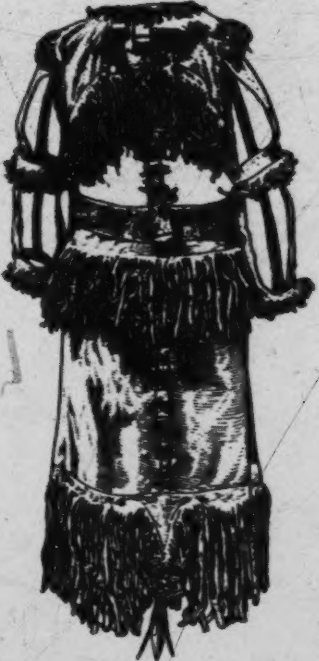

Fig. 13

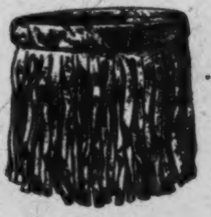

Fig. 14

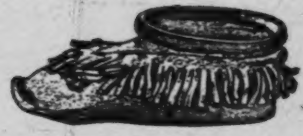

Fig. 15

Fig. 13 (70–8529). Back View of a Shaman's Coat worn by Yakut of the Kolyma River.

Fig. 14 (70–8530). Headdress of the Kolyma Yakut Shaman.

Fig. 15 (70–8531*b*). Footgear of the Kolyma Yakut Shaman.

● 756 292 177 532 The fringe around the coat represents feathers. In front of the coat is visible the apron, which is sewn to the left border as a chest protector and tied to the right with straps. This is not put on separately, as among the Tungus and Yukaghir. In this respect the arrangement of the apron is like that described by Vasilyev and Pekarsky for a Yakut shaman's coat. The dress itself is not decorated with the iron figures characteristic of Yakut shamanistic coats. Instead, tin discs hang from the edge of the inner side of the drum which belongs to the costume. These discs replaced the ice-hole-disc (*oibón-küsäñä*) and sun-disc (*kün-küsäñä*), which are usually sewn to the back of the coat. Inside the drum were also tin representations of birds; a stork (*kitalik*), and two varieties of wood-cocks called *čökčöño* and *kurrikači*. Representations of birds were placed on the apron and on those coats of Yakut shamans which had chest protectors.

Fig. 14 represents the headdress, belonging to the shaman's dress, illustrated in Fig. 13. It consists of a wire ring decorated with a reindeer skin fringe. The fringe hat is characteristic of the Yukaghir and Tungus shamans. The Yakut shamans either dispense with a hat altogether, letting their long hair hang loosely over the face, or they wear women's caps. The leather footgear of the shaman is illustrated in Fig. 15.

756 292 Not all Yakut shamans wear a special dress during their shamanistic performances, some perform without a special costume and even without a drum. On the Kolyma River, I met such a shaman, named Konon. He was blind. Konon was often called in to cure the sick and was regarded as a powerful shaman. But he told me himself that he did not have the main *ämägät* (shaman's spirit). For a shaman's coat he substituted a woman's coat, *sañiyax*, while instead of a drum, he used as a horse for his journey to the subterranean world a willow (*jalbyr*) with three branches, to which were tied hair from the tail of a white horse.[1] He wore a woman's cap made of ermine skins. Before the shamanistic performance, the assistant bound the shaman's chest and shoulder with a strap, *täsin*, the end of which he held from behind, while the performance was in progress.

756 534 177 *The Shaman's Drum.* The Yakut shaman's drum (*düñür* or *tüñür*) is covered with a hide from a young bull (Fig. 16). It is oval in shape. Its longitudinal diameter is 53 cm.; the width of the rim, 11 cm. There are twelve protuberances or elevations representing horns, which serve as resonators, but also have a symbolic significance. According to a Yakut shaman from the Rodchevo settlement on the Kolyma River, who had

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[1] See Jochelson, Yukaghir, Plate X, Fig. 1.

●756 534 177 a drum with five protuberances, the two upper ones represent horns, the two middle ones, on the sides represent ears, while the fifth elevation, the lowest one, represents the chin. The fact that the upper protuberances are called horns leads us to suspect Tungus influence. Among the Tungus the drum appears as the shaman's reindeer and among the Yakut as his horse. According to Sieroszevski[1] the number of the protuberances is always odd: seven, nine, eleven, but the drum here illustrated proves that there are exceptions. Inside the drum, near the center, is an iron cross which serves as a handle (*byaryk*). Little bells and other metallic rattles, called *ăryk*, are attached inside around the rim. Before being used the drum is heated at the fire, thus tautening the hide and causing the sounds to become clearer and more sonorous. The drumstick is called *bylayax*, its length is 32 to 34 cm. The wider end for beating, is covered with cowhide. The stick is regarded as the shaman's whip when he starts into the world of spirits on his drum-horse.

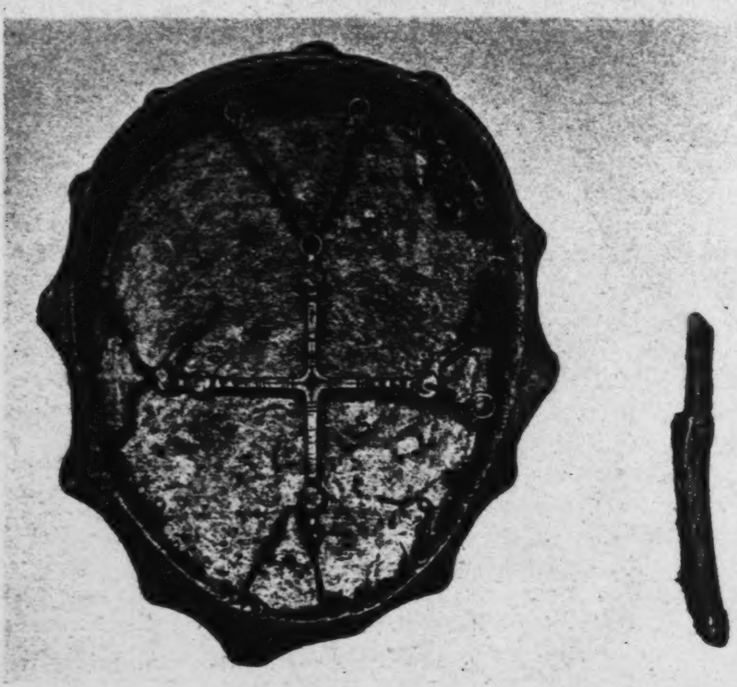

Fig. 16 (70-9071). **Shaman's Drum and Drumstick.**

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[1] Sieroszevski, *ibid.*, 635.

● 756 534 The Siberian single-headed drum, to which type the Yakut drum belongs, ranks high among primitive musical instruments. The Yakut very seldom use it for amusement. It is primarily an instrument for shamanistic performances.

The drum is very skilfully handled for ritual purposes. It is held with the wider part of the oval upward. The volume of sound depends on the distance from the rim. The farther from the rim the stroke falls, the deeper is the sound.

The Siberian drum has no appliances for tightening its membrane, as is the case with two-headed drums, or with some kinds of tamborines; therefore its sound effects may be distinguished rather by the time and force than by their pitch. This defect may be overcome to some degree by frequent warming of the drum.

533 756 In the intonation of the shaman's voice all sound elements, volume, tempo, and pitch may be found. His voice is particularly strong when he strives to inhale from the patient the malevolent beings causing the sickness. Then his voice resembles the cries of a man struggling with a deadly danger.

According to Vitashevsky, the pitch intervals are smaller than those of our musical system. After recording the Yakut songs he tried to reproduce them on a violin, but the Yakut did not recognize them.

755 *A Shamanistic Performance.* Vitashevsky gives a vivid description of a performance at which he was present.[1] He came too late to see its initiation, called *oloxxo oloror* (on the seat he is seated) and, he understood, at this point the shaman's voice and the drum beats should be weak and almost listless. When he entered the earth hut the shaman was sitting on a small bank in its eastern corner, so that he had to pass between him and the fireplace. The shaman wore his shamanistic coat and his assistant dried the hut master's drum by the fire. The shaman asked for a tobacco pipe. He inhaled the smoke several times and asked for the drum and stick which were given to him. He rose, walked a few steps, and jerking his shoulders and head up and down, he tried to beat the drum, but rejected it because it was wet. He asked that his own drum be dried. This was done very quickly. Evidently his drum was already dry.

Now began the second or preliminary stage, called *māñniyār* and *sūrgūyar*[2] when the shaman searched for the direction in which to locate

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[1] Vitashevsky, N. A., Observations of Performances of Yakut Shamans (*Publications du Musée d'Anthropologie et d'Ethnographie de l'Empereur Pierre le Grand Près l'Academie des Sciences de Russie*, vol. 5, pp. 165–196, Petrograd, 1918, in Russian), 177.

[2] These are called shamanistic objects, as for instance, *jalbyr*, a willow with three branches to which hair from the tail of a white horse is tied. The *jalbyr* is used instead of a drum by some shamans and serves as a horse for their journey to the subterranean world.

539 Onogoi, as the chief, was given the first goblet. When he took it, he fell to the ground, unconscious and sightless, with stiffened limbs. The people believed it to be a message from the gods because Onogoi had damned Er-Elliei and mutilated the cattle created by god.

Shortly after Onogoi died and all his riches vanished. His only son became poor and subsisted on the booty of his black dog.

The Yakut living in different districts originated from emigrants of the Yakut district, who partly voluntarily and partly forced by powerful tribes, settled the distant region.

After the death of Er-Elliei the kumiss festival was celebrated in the same manner in all the *uluses*.

796 The kumiss festival (*ysyax*) has both social and religious significance.
782 During the summer, in olden times, every rich man arranged a kumiss
● 756 festival at which all members of the clan assembled and were entertained.
[614] Other people, and frequently whole clans, were also invited. During the
festival defensive and offensive leagues were concluded. Every such ceremony was initiated with sacrifices, which were accompanied with songs, dances, games, horse and foot races, and other contests.

Two kumiss festivals in honor of the deities were arranged during the year by the owners of large droves of mares. The spring festival was consecrated to the Supreme Being and the head of the benevolent deities of the class of "creators" (*ayi*),—to Lord-Bright-Creator. The first milking of mares in the spring is also consecrated to the Supreme Being. The spring festival is called *Ayi ysyaxa* (kumiss festival in honor of the "creators"). Spring, as the period of the revival of nature, was the season of happiness and abundance. In the prayers addressed to the "creators" they are implored to bestow their blessing upon the people. The spring kumiss festival takes place in the open air. In the midst of a large smooth grass meadow is erected a kind of altar, consisting of two posts with a cross beam and three young birch trees with young shoots on them (see p. 201). The altar is hung with sacrificial horsehair; on the ground in front of it are placed ornamented birchbark and oxhide barrels filled with kumiss. The skin barrels are tied to the altar-frame by long ornamented strips of soft elk leather, so that the vessels will not collapse when softened by the liquid in them.

The ceremony commences with sacrifices to Lord-Bright-Creator and to other "creators." Their names are uttered by the steward of the festival, who may be a shaman or an older member of the clan. The sacrifices consist of libations of kumiss to every deity, in the direction of the dawn; formerly horses were often consecrated by being driven to the east, the seat of the "creators." Blood sacrifices were made only to evil deities and not to the "creators." In front of the altar stood the steward with the owner of the drove and his wife on either side of him. All three faced east where dwell the benevolent deities. In a row on the right side of the altar stood nine innocent youths and on the left nine virgins with goblets filled with kumiss consecrated to the benevolent deities. The participants were clad in splendid festival attire, trimmed with valuable fur, silver pendants, and other decorations. 796 782 756 ●

The steward addressed a prayer to the "creators," begging for blessings: increase of horses and cattle, a good harvest of hay, good health for the people and animals, and an abundance of food. Then he took the kumiss festival ladle (*ysyax xamyyaha*) and made a libation, in the direction of the dawn, to the benevolent deities. Then, while making a libation to the ground, he addressed the local deity, "the owner of the place" (*ān doidu iccitā*), asking him not to harm the inhabitants of the spot and the members of the clan. After that, the steward, with the help of the sacrificial ladle, proceeded to prophesy. He threw the ladle towards the sky, and if it fell with the bowl part upwards, it portended the granting of future abundance by the deities and all the people uttered the joyful, cry, *Uru!*

Then, according to the directions of the steward, the boys and girls gave the goblets of sacrificial kumiss to the elder and honored members of the clan, both male and female, who placed themselves to the right and left of the altar, drank from the goblets and passed them on to the less important and the younger people. Behind every honored or aged member of the clan, sat or stood his domestics, less esteemed relatives, young men, and laborers, whose welfare was his responsibility. When the goblet was emptied, it was returned to the steward or host to be filled.

At the same time, not far from the altar, other stewards were preparing tables, or simply boards on the ground, on which were placed piles of horse and cow meat and dishes of melted butter. Every chief of a family or clan received a large portion of meat and butter, which he divided among his people.

The whole day passed with songs, round dances, games, races and other contests, and shamanistic performances. The poetical choral songs of the young men and girls, in praise of the spring and love, were very interesting. Middendorff[1] and Sieroszevski[2] recorded some of these songs. During the kumiss festival the change from winter to spring was 796 53 53

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[1] Middendorff, *ibid.*, Part 2, 1578.
[2] Sieroszevski, *ibid.*, Vol. 1, 587 et seq.

dramatized in a contest between two men. One, dressed in white, 796
represented spring, and was called "son of creator" (*ayi uola*); the other, 536
clad in black, represented winter, and was called "son of evil spirit" (*abasy uola*).

The autumnal festival was celebrated in honor of the destructive 796
forces and was therefore called *abasy-ysyax*. It was dedicated to the 782
evil spirits (*abasylar*), the inhabitants of the west and the representatives 756●
of darkness and night, in order that they may not interfere with them in winter, when starvation, disease, and death are imminent. This festival also took place in the open air, but at night.

The first night, the ceremony was in honor of Big-Lord (*Ulu-Toyon*) and the evil spirits of the upper world subordinate to him. The ceremony of the second night was in honor of *Axsan Duolai* and his subordinates, the evil spirits of the lower world. To all of these evil spirits, in addition to the libations of kumiss made to the benevolent deities, blood sacrifices of cattle and horses were also made. This ceremony was superintended by nine male and nine female shamans.

KUMISS VESSELS AND THEIR DECORATIONS

Kumiss vessels may be divided into three types, according to form:— 415

1. The *corōn*, a very large urn-shaped goblet with a small base hold- 531
ing from ten to fifteen liters of kumiss. Their small bases make them unstable. To drink from them, they must be held with both hands. Three large goblets of varying sizes are reproduced in Fig. 91. Two of them, in addition to the engraved decorations, are ornamented with silver hoops and pendants and one with pendants of red cloth and hair from a horse's mane.

2. *Us ataxtāx corōn*, i.e., tripod goblets of smaller size are illustrated in Fig. 90. Fig. 90*a* is ornamented with silver rings.

3. Cylindrical vessels with set-in bottoms of varying sizes, and named according to their size, the small one, *mācax;* and the large ones, *ymyja*.

All these drinking vessels are made from the strong, tough wood of 415
the polar birch tree. The first two types are carved and hollowed from 531
one piece. Formerly the adze was the implement used for hollowing but 322
recently a chisel. The finish, polish, and decoration are accomplished with knives only. The sides of these goblets are made very thin and they easily crack when drying. A goblet left empty in the sun for a single day is sure to crack. To guard against injury, they are kept in a dark, damp place, and are also freely oiled with melted butter, which gives them a

6: Sauer--116[2] G-5 (1785-94) 1802 Yakut
116, 756, 776, 822, 825

"Their malevolent spirits are very numerous; for they have no less than 27 tribes or companies of aërial spirits: their chief they call Ooloo Toyon: he has a wife and many children: Sugai Toyon (the god of thunder)is his minister of immediate vengeance (Sugai is hatchet): the rest they distinguish by the names of different colours. Cattle and horses are sacred to the different spirits whose colours they bear. They also reckon eight tribes of spirits inhabiting Mung Taar (everlasting misery). Their chief is called Asharay Bioho (the mighty): these have wives, and the cattle sacred to them are quite black: their departed shamans are supposed to unite to these. They are in great dread of another evil goddess, whom they call Enachsys (cowherdess): she damages the cows, inflicts disorders on them, destroys calves, &c. and is frequently honoured with offerings to be propitious to their stock."

6: Sauer--117 G-5 (1785-94) 1802 Yakut
116, 342, 554, 574, 756, 796

"A summer hut is built of thin poles of a conical form, covered with the inner bark of birch, on some extensive meadow. It is ornamented inside and out with branches of the birch-tree, and a hearth is made in the centre. Relations and acquaintances are invited to the banquet; but all guests are welcome of every nation indiscriminately. The magicians take the head seats; others are seated according to the estimation of their seniority. (1)

1. Years do not secure the title of senior, (Oghonior,) which is the greatest term of respect that the Socha know. Magicians have it, and all such as are capable of advising the proper means to be adopted to secure success to such public and private concerns as are virtuous and good."

6: Sauer--117-118 G-5 (1785-94) 1802 Yakut-1-2

116, 756, 782, 796, 823

"When the hut is full, the elder shaman rises, and commands one of the Socha that he knows to be qualified (namely, that has not seen a corpse within the month, and that has never been accused of theft, or bearing false witness against any body, which defiles them for ever, and renders them unqualified for this sacred and solemn task) to take a large goblet, called a tshoron, which is used to drink out of on solemn occasions, and fill it with koumis out of the first symir; then to place himself before the hearth, with his face to the east, holding the tshoron to his breast about [118] two minutes. He then pours koumis three times on the hot embers, as an offering to Aar Toyon. Turning a very little to the right, he pours three times to Kubey Chatoon; then to the south he offers in the same manner to each of the benevolent gods. With his face to the west, he pours three times to the 27 tribes of aërial spirits; and three times to the north to the eight tribes of the pit, and to the manes of their departed sorcerers. After a short pause, he concludes his libation by an offering to Enachsys the cowherdess. The sorcerer then turns the man with his face to the east, and commences a prayer aloud, thanking the godhead for all favours received, and soliciting a continuance of their bounty. On concluding his prayer, he takes off his cap, with which he fans himself three times, and cries out aloud, 'Oorui!' (grant) which is repeated by all present. The elder shaman then, taking the tshoron, drinks a little, and hands it to his brethren of the same order; from whom it passes to the company as they sit, except such as are

6: Sauer--117-118 G-5 (1785-94) 1802 Yakut-2
116, 756, 782, 796, 823

defiled. Women are not admitted into the hut; nor are they, or the disqualified, allowed any of the koumis out of the first symir, which they call sanctified, as possessing the power of purifying and strengthening in a divine sense."

6: Sauer--119 G-5 (1785-94) 1802 Yakut
116, 562, 756

"MAGICIANS; OR SHAMANS.

Men and women are both admitted to this order; but very few of the latter, as particular circumstances attending their birth or infancy can alone authorise their inauguration. Young men are instructed by an old professor, who accompanies them by day and night to the most solitary parts of the woods; shews them the favourite spots of the spirits of the air, and of the pit; and teaches them to cite their appearance, and claim their influence. I have heard most wonderful relations of their power, even from the Russians; but, notwithstanding I have seen their enchantments or incantations many times, I never could discover any of their feats equal to that of a common conjurer in England."

6: Sauer--121 G-5 (1785-94)1802 Yakut
116, 292, 756, 534

"The magician's [RCH: the shaman's] dress is a leather jacket, with sleeves from the shoulder to the elbow; along the outer seam, long slips of leather are sewn, as also round the bottom, hanging to the ground. The jacket is covered with iron plates, and pieces of iron and brass hanging, which makes a dismal noise while he is leaping about and beating his tambour. He has also a piece of leather, like a long apron, reaching from his chin to his knees, tied before, and ornamented in the same manner. His tambour is very large, and also ornamented in the edges and cross bars with iron and brass; and his stick is covered with the skin of some short-haired animal. He also wears, at the commencement of his incantations, a fur cap; but this he throws off almost as soon as he begins his magic spells."

6: Sauer--123 G-5 (1785-94) 1802 Yakut
116, 685, 695, 825, 756

"If an accusation be laid against any by his companion, of having stolen and eaten or killed cattle, he must either pay for the same, receive a flogging (which is very disgraceful), or take an oath of his innocence; and, should an innocent man be accused, he will, in general, rather pay for them than take the stipulated oath, which is administered with the following ceremony:

A magician [RCH: i. e., the shaman] places his tambour and dress before the fire, the embers of which are burning. The accused stands before it, facing the sun, and says: 'May I lose during my life all that
'man holds dear and desirable, father, mother, wives, children,
'relations; all my possessions and cattle; the light of the sun,
'and then my own life; and may my spirit sink to eternal mi-
'sery (mung taar), if I be guilty of the charge laid against me!'
The magician throws butter on the hot embers; the man accused must then step over the tambour and dress, advance to the fire, and swallow some of the exhaling smoke from the butter; then, looking to the sun, say, 'If I have sworn false, deprive me
'of thy light and heat.' Some of the tribes close the ceremony by making the accused bite the head of a bear; because they allow this beast to have more than human wisdom, and suppose that some bear will kill the aggressor."

CONTINUED
FROM
PRECEDING
FICHE

6: Sauer--124[2] G-5 (1785-94) 1802 Yakut
116, 147, 164, 756

"The Yakuti are a healthy and hardy race, bear the extremes of heat and cold to an astonishing degree, and travel in the severest frosts on horseback, frequently suffering much from hunger; they are, however, subject to rheumatic pains, boils, the itch, and sore eyes; and great numbers were carried off in 1758 and 1774 by the small-pox and measles: the shamans are their doctors."

6: Sauer--126 G-5 (1785-94) 1802 Yakut
116, 756, 782, 789, 842

"Travelling with Captain Billings to the river Mayo, I observed the following offering in the hut of Surtuyea Birdugin, an unchristened prince or chief, to Shessugai Toyon and his wife Aksyt, for the blessing of children, called Ogo Oyetto, the child's nest. It was a horse-hair cord tied round the chimney, leading to the sleeping place of the host and hostess, ornamented with bunches of horse hair. Two round pieces of the bark of birch, to represent sun and moon, suspended; also the representation of a stallion and a mare formed out of the bark, and a few wooden dolls dressed. The cord was fastened to the post at the head of their bed, where was placed a wicker basket with moss and fur at the bottom; and on a little table in the basket was set a very small wooden bowl, containing boiled flour; all of which was placed by a shaman with great magic ceremony. The prince has three wives, and was married 15 years without having had any children before this offering was made; but afterwards each of his wives bore their share of children, and he has now six sons and daughters. This account was related to Captain Billings and me in the presence of Mr. Hornossky, the captain of the district of Yakutsk, by the prince himself: each wife has her separate dwelling some miles distant from either of the others; and a similar offering is placed in each of their huts."

6: Sauer--127 G-5 (1785-94) 1802 Yakut
116, 585, 756, 583

"The ceremony of buying a wife is extremely formal and tedious. A young man who wishes to marry sends his friend to ask the consent of the bride's father, and what kalym (purchase) he demands; that is, how many horses and cattle, as also the quantity of raw meat, horse flesh, and beef, that he requires for treats and feasts: this they call kurim; half of the quantity is always given in presents to the bridegroom by the bride's father, and is called yrdy. The daughter's inclinations are always consulted; and, if she does not object, the kalym and kurim are stipulated."

6: Sauer--127-128 G-5 (1785-94) 1802 Yakut
116, 585, 756

"The bridegroom kills two fat mares, dresses the heads whole, and the flesh in pieces, and goes with three or four friends to the father of the bride. On his arrival at the hut, one of his friends enters and places one of the dressed horses' heads before the fire, and returns to his companions without speaking a word. They then all enter the hut, and, a sorcerer being placed opposite the fire, the bridegroom kneels on one knee with his face towards it, into which butter is thrown; he then lifts up his cap a little, and nods his head three times without bowing his body. The sorcerer pronounces him the happy man, and prophesies a succession of happy years, &c. Then the bridegroom rises, bows to the father and mother, and takes his seat opposite the bride's place, but keeps silent. The meat is then brought in, and the father of the bride distributes it among his own friends, but kills a fat mare to treat his new guests. Supper being over, the bridegroom goes to bed; the bride, who has not been present, is conducted into the hut and to his bed by some old woman, and they sleep together; sometimes, however, the bride does not appear at the first visit. In the morning, the friends return home; [128] but the bridegroom remains three or four days. A time is now fixed for the payment of the kalym, either at the new or full moon."

7: Shklovsky --246-248 T-3 (1891-92) 1916 Yakut-1-2
116, 756, 776, 779

"Up to the begining of the eighteenth century the Bouriats, like all the Turko-Mongolian race, had the Horro religion, known to us as 'Shamanism.' This religion is also professed by Ostiaks, Samoyedes Yuraks, Yakuts, Lamouts and Toungouse.

In the time of the dynasty of Di-tyn, Shamanisn [247] was introduced into China under the name of Tyau-Shen, but, though it had no success there, it is important to mention the fact, because in 1747 there were published in the Manchurian language the regulations of the rites and ceremonies of Shamanisn, the only printed catechism of the old Mongol religion. There is also in existence an English translation of this catechism. I shall try to give briefly the substance of this religion.

The world is ruled by a passionless god, 'The drowsy Spirit of the Eight-sided Universe'; he has neither shape nor form; he is neither life nor death. I could not get even from the most learned Shaman a more definite statement of this belief. Involuntarily the thought comes into one's mind that this is probably a vague, shadowy idea of Brahma, the dark mind of the savage being unable to form a clearer conception of an abstract idea. The world is ruled by the 'Bald Father' (in Bouriat terminology), who cannot be angered, and who cannot be entreated, as his decisions are unchangeable. Therfore, it is absolutely useless to offer prayers and sacrifices. This god is deeply interested in all that concerns man; he is stern, or, more accurately speaking, powerful, for the Mongolian mind cannot imagine attributes such as goodness and mercy, but only omnipotence and

7: Shklovsky -- 246-248 T-3 (1891-92) 1916 Yakut -2
116, 756, 776, 779

impotence, The Yakut name 'Almighty' quite shows this idea.

Arsin Dolai (the chief of the seven Oulooss of the wicked spirits, Abaghi) sends all evils and illness upon mankind, and the essence of the Horro religion is how to discover the means of propitiating this terrible god who afflict men so grievously, not in [248] revenge for their misdoings, but in the plenitude of his power."

7: Shklovsky -- 248 T-3 (1891-92)1916 Yakut
116, 756, 775

"The ideas of life and death are original. Each man has allotted to him two shadows, and liars have three. After a man's death these shadows return to the Abaghi, and are given the duty of guarding the guilty Abaghi whom Arsin Dolai consigns to the 'iron barn'; but the spirit of the dead man becomes a Yer, or wandering spirit, invisible except to the Shaman. In the 'central place' (the earth) there are a multitude of these Yer, and in the words of Milton:--

Millions of spiritual creatures walk the earth,
Unseen, both when we wake, and when we sleep.

These Yer are the active helpers of the evil spirits, for they can enter the bodies of people on earth, and so afflict them with all kinds of diseases: rheumatism, gastric and nervous diseases, etc. Besides Yer there are in the universe many wicked--that is to say, 'powerful'--gods, whose greatest pleasure it is to torment men, maim their animals, tear the nets of the fishers, etc. None can implore the god save those who from their birth are set apart by the good spirits, the Shamans, male and female."

7: Shklovsky --248-249 T-3 (1891-92) 1916 Yakut
116, 756, 776

"In one of the stories of the Bouriats the Shamans say: 'We know what others do not, for all that is hidden we discover.' Although amongst the Shamans one occasionally finds a conscious deceiver, the majority of them firmly believe in their power and knowledge, and they will only take very small fees for their services. The spirits are not pleased with the power which the Shamans have over them and they try to revenge themselves in every possible way. [249] 'Our gods are always angry with us, and we suffer greatly because of this, but we cannot cease, we must Shaman,' so said one of them. Each Shaman has the power of taking the form of an animal, and so can go about the world. This beast-form is given to him by his spirit protector, who guides him in this form round the universe during the performance of the 'mystery'. I have already described this ceremony. Like a ray of light in the dark outlook of Shamanism upon hostile nature shines the only beneficent spirit, the woman goddess, who acts disinterestedly for the benefit of all mankind. The Yakuts give her the title 'Mother Protector and Teacher and kind sympathetic Mother Creator.'"

9: Stadling--96 E-3 (1898) 1901 Yakut
116, 177, 756, 771, 781

"At the present day the Yakuts are often married in churches according to the orthodox ritual, and they also bury their dead in the Russian manner. For the last hundred years they have been nominally members of the othodox Church, and very often make the sign of the Cross, but in their inmost hearts they have stronger faith in the power of the Shaman over the evil spirits than in the dogmas of the Church, of which they know but little. Indeed, not only the Yakuts, but even the Russians themselves — the officials, too, among the number—apply to the Shaman to heal their diseases, drive away evil spirits, and predict coming events."

10: Bush--300 T-3 (1865-67) 1871 Yakut
116, 177, 756, 771,

"The Russians were a long time in conquering them, but, since that event, they have adopted the Russian language, customs, and religion, and are quite devout, though many of them still retain a lingering belief in shamanism."

11: Lansdell--305 M-3 (1879) 1882 Yakut
116, 114, 177, 756, 797

"Strahlenberg calls these people Pagans, but the latest writers call them Christians; and the method of their conversion was, it is said, extraordinary, for the Russian priests not making much headway against their superstitions, an ukase was one day issued setting forth that the good and loyal nation of the Yakutes were thought worthy to enter, and were consequently admitted into, the Russian Church, to become a part of the Tsar's Christian family, and entitled to all the privileges of the rest of his children. Such was the tenor of this strange proclamation, and success attended the measure. The new Christians showed perfect sincerity in the adoption of their novel faith, and the Russian priests have established their sway over the Yakute race, though amongst the outlying portion a lingering belief in Shamanism still survives, of which travellers from Yakutsk to Okhotsk have been made aware by their Yakute guides leaving them awhile in foggy weather, and stealing off into the forest to perform certain mysterious rites."

12: Galitzin -- 146-147 N-2 (no date) 1853 Yakut
116, 756, 769

"The chamans, or sorcerers, continue to exert a great influence on this credulous people. They feign to entertain relations with the souls of the dead, and by this means often extort from the relatives of the dead, with the pretense of obeying an injunction come from the other world, furs, and even cattle. [147] It is well known that these jugglers give themselves up to the pracitce of gross sorcery."

13: Sarytschew--13 N-3 (1785-90) 1806 Yakut-1-2
116, 302, 756, 786

"In the mean time, I had an opportunity of witnessing the incantations of a Jakutish shaman. He was invited by a sick person to appease the evil spirit supposed to have sent the disorder. The shaman exchanged his usual Jakutish dress for the habit of his office, made of reindeer leather (called Rudwuga), which reached not much above the knee, and was covered over with narrow thongs, and thin bits of iron of different shapes and sizes. Having made his arrangements, he untied his hair that was fastened together upon his head (1), smoked a pipe of tobacco, took his tambourine, seated himself in the midst of the jurt, and beating it first at long intervals with his bolujach, or a flat stick covered with reindeer-skin, sung a shaman's song; in which, as my interpreter told me, he challenged all the seven spirits under his command. A few minutes afterwards he began to beat his tambourine again, and bawl with great vehemence, standing up and addressing himself in different positions; and then to jump and hop about the sick person to the sound of his instrument, at the same time screaming with a horrible voice, and distorting himself in a hideous manner. His head, with the dishevelled hair, rolled backward and forward with such rapidity that it seemed to be

1. The shamans only let their hair grow, the other Jakuts cutting their's off, after the manner of the Russian peasantry.

moved by springs; his eyes glared like those of a maniac; and falling soon after, from the violent exertion, into a sort of swoon, two Jakuts used their endeavours to support him. Recovering in a few minutes, he called for a knife, with which he stabbed himself in the body, and commanded a Jakut to drive in the weapon to the hilt; then going to the hearth, he took out three burning coals, and swallowing them, danced without discovering any symptoms of pain. At length he pulled the knife out of his body; and, after vomiting the coals with some difficulty, began to prophesy that the sick man would be better if he offered a horse to the wicked spirit which tormented him; at the same time defining the colour of the horse to be sacrificed. In all such cases, the lot, of course, always falls upon the fattest and choicest."

13: Sarytschew--13-14 N-3 (1785-90) 1806 Yakut
116, 554, 756, 782

"The shamans demand nothing for their trouble, but are contented with what is given them: they have, however, always the privilege of the first seat at the feast on the sacrifice, when they eat with a voracious appetite. For the evil spirit they set apart the head, legs, tail, and skin; which, when stretched upon a pole, are hung on a birch, or larch-tree, from whence they are never removed. [14]

The credit which the shamans enjoy with all these people, prevents them from being suspected of any deception; and the conceit of their holding an intercourse with evil spirits, confirms every one still more in the opinion, that whatever happens through the shaman is effected in a supernatural way by the aid of devils. This prejudice of course affords them an opportunity of imposing several tales and absurdities upon the superstitious ignorance of the multitude; such as pretending to have the power of knowing the past, present, and future; of commanding the winds and storms; of producing fine or bad weather; of finding things that are lost; of healing the sick, affording good sport to the hunter, &c and all which they never neglect to turn to their own advantage."

14: Krauss--166 E-5 (no date) 1888 Yakut
116, 178, 756, 797, 177.79 Russia
636.79

The destruction of the Yakut state by a small crowd of strangers, and the administrative measures which were taken by the orthodox conquerors, necessarily impaired the position of the ancient Yakut gods. They soon began to be forgotten. The activity of the missionaries gave this development further support.

It so happened that the gods have been almost entirely forgotten. "I cannot but state," Mr. Middendorf says, "that, upon my questions concerning the peculiar qualities of certain demons and their names, I could get no information, and, upon more urgent querying, only learned that it might have been like that in ancient times. Their religion, which had been flourishing one time, has been forgotten. I saw fragments only; survivals of a former doctrine." The present religious conception, Theodor Solovjev states 30 years later in his article on "Die Ueberreste des Heidentums bei den Jakuten," are permeated with Christian elements. Christian monotheism is the background of their conceptions. The actual state of things evidently represents the last phase of vanishing shamanism.

Nevertheless, the outward conditions of life have hardly changed after the Russian conquest. There is always the same uncertainty of existence; the unsatisfactory conditions for men as well as for animals continue to exist. The sacrificial priests still everywhere and always hold position and duties of priests, physicians, and fortune-tellers (prophets).

14: Krauss--166 [2] E-5 (no date) 1888 Yakut
116, 756, 554

Because of the lack of trained physicians the Yakut had to have recourse to the shamans' aid whenever a case of disease occurred in his family or among the cattle; and they did so, according to their old custom, even after they had given up their ancient creed. As healing ensued in some cases, faith in the magic power of the shamans continued and prevented the latter from losing all their authority.

14: Krauss--166 [3] E-5 (no date) 1888 Yakut
116, 554, 756, 771, 821

In view of the permanent uncertainty of his supplies, the Yakut is necessarily always occupied with the question whether the impending hunt or draught will be sufficient to provide food for himself and his family. The shaman will offer his services to answer this question. How could those little-civilized people who have a strong tendency towards miracle religion, renounce it to take their own profit from it? Especially, when frightful and inconceivable phenomena such as snow storms or the north-light confuse them and keep them in constant fear.

Permanent remoteness from other people makes the Yakut reflective. He is always alone with his ideas; so it is only natural that his mental activity is great, his imagination vivid. He longs for the mysterious, for mysticism. This is where the shamans find their field of activity.

Thus, the shaman is approached on the ground of his quality as a physician, fortune-teller, and mediator of secret knowledge; not at all, however, because he is a sacrificial priest or a theologian. The shaman himself endeavors to meet these needs, which make his presence among the population indispensable; and that is why he loses his former character as a priest.

14: Krauss--166 [4]   E-5   (no date) 1888   Yakut
116, 756, 771

Shamanism and the fragments of Christian popular religion, on both of which the Yakuts may inform curious explorers, do not at all represent two entirely different systems of the primitive religious philosophy of the Yakut aborigines, but are just two parts of their faith, namely the practical, and the dogmatical one. Both parts are in different degrees of decay: Shamanism is less degenerated than the rest.

14: Krauss--166-167 E-5 (no date) 1888 Yakut
116, 177, 182, 756, 771, 776

Besides the mentioned points, Shaman medicine, fortune-telling, and the like, have had a constant influence on everyday life, and certain compromises with Christianity could not fail to [167] develop. Christianity has more or less been adopted by the majority of the Yakuts; it has undergone some changes under the influence of the "ancient faith" followers. As the theoretical part of the former creed has no immediate point of friction with real life, it has survived in a much more considerable degree, in the form of various traditions.

Thus, the former deities have been changed into devils, or spirits of darkness, under the influence of shaman mystery ceremonies. This is the same sort of metamorphosis which our rusalki, lesije, or domovje, or among the Greeks: Pan, have undergone by lending their appearance to the devil of the Christian faith.

These remarks will be sufficient to clear up certain divergences between the shamans' activity and the well attested information on the original religious doctrines of the Yakuts.

14: Krauss--167 — E-5 (no date) 1888 Yakut
116, 177, 756, 771, 793

In the Yakut district all Yakuts with rare exceptions have been baptized according to the 'ancient faith' [RCH: i. e., Christianity] rite, or were born from parents of that faith. Yet one can hardly be sure that a Yakut, professing the ancient faith, has given up his shamanist creed, or that he does not have recourse to the latter. I have personally known two shamans, one of them in the Yakutsk district, the other on the Kytach island on the mouth of the Lena, who were both known as followers of the 'ancient faith.'

The aborigines seldom have an opportunity to see a priest of the ancient faith. In view of the enormous extension of the parishes, of the scattered settlements, and of the extraordinary difficulties in securing communications, he is hardly in a position to see each member of his faith once a year; and if he visits him in one of the settling-places he may not stay longer than two or three days because he must be through with his travel as long as the paths and roads are practicable. One may safely estimate that eight per cent of the aborigines population has never seen a Christian church. His eminency, the former Yakut bishop Dionysius even told me that sometimes priests had died without having communicated, leaving a written confession of sins.

No wonder, therefore, that the aborigines who are considered as Christians and place the image of a saint in the front corner of their tents which is adorned with wax candles nevertheless approach their shamans in order to satisfy their religious needs.

14: Krauss--167 [2]　　E-5　　(no date) 1888　　Yakut
116, 756, 793

Despite all this one case remains still obscure; it happened to a priest in the city of Yakutsk, in 1880. The priest had fallen ill and taken recourse to the aid of a shaman, in the expectation that his mystery treatment might heal him. I am not quite positive as to the name, but I should say that the priest was called Popov. I am sure that this is not a sporadic case; it probably occurred oftener than once. In view of such facts nobody should be surprised if a well-to-do Yakut who settles in the city, speaks Russian fluently, has already obtained rewards for religious activity or even for support in building a church, calls on a shaman as soon as a man falls ill, or an animal is hurt, or some other misfortune comes to his house.

14: Krauss--168 E-5 (no date) 1888 Yakut
116, 756, 776, 782

I remember very well, that once one of the shamans (a Christian), whom I had managed to persuade to perform a mystery of the kind which is destined to ask the spirits for something, went into the tent, crossed himself three times devoutly before the saints' images, then turned around, sat down in front of the fireplace and started calling upon his spirits. I should, however, like to report on that mystery ceremony below.

I want to formulate it briefly: there is no hill or slope, no isolated tree, no lake, river, or brook on the roads north of Yakutsk which would not have their protecting spirits. The most prominent among them are simply called ebja-chotun (dear women mother).

Just as the autochthonous Yakuts, the Russian merchants of the area use to sacrifice to the spirit of a locality in order to dispose him favorably. Everybody gives what he can afford; some will tear a piece out of their garments, others will pull some hairs from the manes of their horses to fix them on a tree or sign-post, some give money, and he who possesses nothing, at least a stone, a horse skull, a horse hide, or his stick. Such offerings are called delburgja salaka.

14: Krauss--168 [3] E-5 (no date) 1888 Yakut

116, 756, 771, 776, 782

I also remember a case where the Yakuts who accompanied me while I was traveling in the Verchojan district, with desperation because of the terrific weather first murmured prayers, calling upon Tangar (God) and Nicholas, God's favorite (Nikolaja Ugodnika), the still honored protector of wandering people, until they started exercising their Shaman magic.

When I asked the people about this rapid change, the sorcerers would calmly reply 'If God doesn't help, the spirits may still hear our prayer, and send aid'. This lack of distinction is, in my opinion, simply accounted for. The people have left one bank without having reached the other; they have not grasped the faith in God, but have given up the faith in the strength and might of their formerly worshiped ghosts to a great extent.

14: Krauss--169-170 E-5 (no date) 1888 Yakut
116, 158, 756, 828

This disease [RCH: i. e., merjak disease; see category 116, p. 168-169] sometimes takes such a form that the patients comply with the most absurd commands of anybody, and often become the puppets of naughty street arabs.

I have deemed it advisable to insist somewhat on this kind of disease, because the shamans, more than the ordinary autochthonous population, suffer from nervousness and irritability. This tendency is particularly outspoken when they get into ecstasy while performing a mystery, or when they try to excite themselves with wild, frightening cries, turns on the spot, and violent move-[170]ments of the head. The population is of the opinion that the shaman at the time of the mystery performance reveals prophesies, because he is obsessed by the devil, the spirit of darkness, or hell. The Satans either obsess the shaman of their own accord, or because they are invited by the latter.

14: Krauss--170-171 E-5 (no date) 1888 Yakut-1-4
116, 756, 776, 782, 753

The initiation of a shaman is performed publicly. An old shaman conducts the one to be initiated on a high hill or on an open field, dresses him in a kuma (i. e. a red cotton wrapper) gives him a scepter hanged with horse-hair, and places nine youths to his right, nine girls to his left. He himself stands behind the novice, to whisper the shaman magic formulas in his ear. The latter has to repeat them:

"I promise to be a protector of the unhappy, a father of the miserable, and a mother of the orphans. I shall honor the demons who live on the tops of the high mountains, and swear that I shall serve them with all my strength. I shall honor, bow to, and serve the highest and most powerful of them, the demon who commands all demons, the master of the three demon sibs who live on the tops of the mountains, him whom the shamans call Sostuganach Ulu-Toen (the frightful, terrible one); his elder son Ujgul-Toen (the insane one), his wife Ujgul-Chotun (the insane woman), his younger son Kjakja-Curan-Toen (the loudly speaking one), his wife Kjakja-Curan-Chotun, and their numerous family and servants, through whom they send the people diseases, accidents, breakings of legs, and the podagra. I vow to save those who have been affected by these diseases, by sacrificing a cream-colored mare.

"I shall profess and worship, bow to, and serve Ulu Toen's younger brother, the demon Chara-Surun-Toen (the black raven), his son Alban-Buran-Toen (the resourceful venturer), his daughter Kys-Salisaj (the virgin who walks), who prompts people to commit manslaughter, suicide, and calumny. I promise to help rid these people of

14: Krauss--170-171 E-5 (no date) 1888 Yakut-2
116, 756, 776, 782, 753

their passions by offering the said demons a black horse.

"I shall profess, worship, and bow to the demon Altan-Sobiraj-Toen (the brazen basin), his wife Altan-Sobiraj-Chotun (the one with the bigger brazen arrow), their daughters Timir-Kuturuk (iron tail) and Kejulgan-Darchan (the important, great, lopping woman), who send mankind chronical abscesses. I shall help free the sick by sacrificing some (Arago) liquor, and offering the demons a motley seamew, as a gift of honor.

"I shall profess and worship, and bow to the ancester of these demons who is known as Kjun-Zelerjuma-Sakryl-Chotun (the horrible foe of the sun) who has 52 tables full of holes, and 52 servants. She sends the people the passion of game and drinking, of robbery, plundering, abject deeds, and suicide. I shall try to heal those who are obsessed with these vices. I shall kill a red-spotted young mare who is an ambler, and twist heart and liver of the mare round my neck; I shall perform shaman magic to propitiate the goddess.

"I shall profess and honor the demon above the demons of the six sibs who live in the place where the sinners' souls are sent to; I will bow to the one who is known among the shamans as Talirdach-Tan-Taraly-Toen (he who drags into ruin), his daughters Sorocha-Chotun (the wind-driven female beauty, and San-Chotun, and his countless servants who send men and cattle epidemic diseases. To propitiate them I shall offer them a sorrell-spotted mare.

"I shall profess, honor, and bow to the demon Bor-Malachaj-Toen (deformed earth)

14: Krauss--170-171 E-5 (no date) 1888 Yakut-3
116, 756, 776, 782, 753

and his wife Bor-Malachaj-Chotun who send mankind various diseases and, especially, death. If in a family children should die, I will implore these demons for mercy, and [171] offer them a black cow with a half-white head.

"I shall profess, honor, and bow to the demon Archach-Toen (the sick one) and his wife Archach-Chotun, who send mankind consumption. I shall heal the affected by offering a blackish brown cow.

"I shall profess, and honor the demon Njas-Elju (cart-horse, death) and his wife Yeryk-Chotun (the sick one) who send the people falling sickness and Siberian pestilence. I shall try to heal those who have been affected by these diseases by offering an eel-pout and a trout.

"I shall profess, honor, and bow to the demon Kytaj-Baksy-Toen who gives the Yakuts resourceful smiths and powerful shamans. When Kytaj, angry with a smith, sends him a disease, I promise to kill a red cow in his honor, to spread the blood over all the forge tools, and to burn the heart and the liver to ashes in the chimney. If I should be affected by this disease, another shaman will sacrifice for me and propitiate the demon.

"I shall profess, honor, and bow to the daughter of the demon, Tamyk-Chotun (the haughty one). She sends mankind mental diseases of various kind. Those who have been affected by such diseases I shall heal by sacrificing nine ermines, nine snow-weasels, nine fitchews, and nine pigeons; I vow to catch them alive, to adorn them, and to release them entirely.

14: Krauss--170-171 E-5 (no date) 1888 Yakut-4
116, 756, 776, 782, 753

"I shall profess and bow to, I shall honor the shaman woman Tajaktach-Njacaj (the feeble one with the reed), her husband Atyr-Chataj (the eagle) and his countless family and descendants, who send the people oppression of the chest. Those who have been affected by this disease I shall try to save by sacrificing a light-red cow with but one horn.

"I shall acknowledge, honor, and bow to the heavenly shaman Kybilyr Ojun (the white swan), his sister Kytalyktyr-Kyrbyky (the swan of the acute wings). and their mother Soruktach-Sodor (the charitable ruler), who send the people deafness and every kind of ear disease. Those who have been affected by it I shall try to save by offering a red cow with but one horn (agar mostach kugas).

14: Krauss--171 E-5 (no date) 1888 Yakut
116, 756, 773, 776

The tradition about the first shaman goes back to dark times. His name was An-Argyl-Ojun. He was powerful and performed great miracles. He raised the dead, and gave the blind their eyesight back. This fame eventually also reached Aj-Toen (God, the Lord). He sent a messenger to the shaman to ask in the name of what god he did those miracles and whether he believed in him, Aj-Toen. An-Argyl-Ojun (the important shaman) replied three times he did not believe in God but performed miracles by his own strength and power.

Aj-Toen became angry at that and ordered the shaman to be burned. As, however, Ojun's body consisted of countless vermin, one little frog managed to be saved from the flames. The powerful demons who still give shamans to the Yakuts are descendants of this little frog.

Among the major demons, An-Argyl-Ojuna-Kjun-Kigis-Ojun is worshiped (the sun--the unsatiable glutton). An enormous iron stick rests in his hands, on which the head of the one to become a shaman is symbolically put. The head is so shown the entire world from above. The rest of the body is equally chopped into small pieces which are supposed to serve as food for the evil spirits. The latter thus become servants of the novice. The initiated are used to feel all the agonies of being beheaded and chopped in their paroxysms which are full of hallucinations.

14: Krauss--172 E-5 (no date) 1888 Yakut-1-2
116, 292, 756

Only a few shamans possess the garment in which to perform the mystery ceremonies. As a rule the shamans are exceedingly poor people without a house of their own; they live on their daily resources, on the alms they receive for their performances.

The shaman clothing is expensive, because the ornaments have to be made of chased iron. The size, proportions, and form of all the ornaments of the garment must be exactly and carefully observed, as established by ancient customs. Not every smith knows how to make all the iron ingredients of it; he charges 40 rubles for it.

As far as I know, only a few shaman garments have survived in the Yakut area; it would be easy to enumerate the existing ones. Police and clergy persecute the shamans, take the clothes away and burn it before the Yakut consistory. However, by taking his clothes, one has not yet deprived the shaman of the possibility of performing ceremonies.

The whole clothing of a shaman consists of a caftan made of tanned hides or buckskins; besides he has a drum with a wooden drumstick, and a staff. The caftan is known as kuma; it is hanged with iron ornaments. They represent: a lizard, an emoer-goose, a pierced sun, the half of a moon, a demon, an iron chain, or also a buck's tail. These ornaments are supposed to remind the shamans and shaman magicians that the ghost realm which he enters during the ceremony is populated by such animals, birds, and fish; the pierced sun and the half moon, on the other hand, hint that twilight reigns where the spirits live. The tail indicates that shamanism is reliable

14: Krauss--172 E-5 (no date) 1888 Yakut-2
116, 292, 756

and safe, and so does the chain, which serves as a guide to the spirits' realm. Several bands and iron knee-limbs which look like joints and represent bones, hands, and ribs serve the shaman as a shield on his walks through the spirits' realm, and in his battles with inimical spirits.

The sleeves and tails of the kuma are hanged with long fringes of shagreen.

14: Krauss--172 [2] E-5 (no date) 1888 Yakut
116, 534, 756

The drum [RCH: of the shaman] known as djugjur. As a rule it is cylindrical and made of wood, and covered with depilated calfskin. Inside small sticks are fixed crosswise, by which the drum is held during the mysteries. This handle is known as byeryk. The inner side of the drum is hanged with little iron bells which have neither symbolic significance nor a definite form. The drumstick, bylajach-kostjanaja, i. e. wooden stick, carries a ball made of hairy skin (turned outward). The drum is considered as the symbolic expression of an animal with which the shaman goes down to the nether world, to the region of the spirits; and the stick is identified with the whip. By making noise with it the shaman makes known that he is on the way. The staff is used by the shaman in default of a drum only. By leaning upon it, he pretends to be wandering. He also will replace the drum by roaring and wild cries, if he possesses no drum. The kuma and drum are manufactured during shamanic mystery ceremonies.

14: Krauss--172-173 E-5 (no date) 1888 Yakut-1-2
116, 292, 756, 301, 532

Now I should like to describe the ornaments of the shaman dress. On the front part of the kuma, from the throat down to the lower edge, three storks are represented (kytaly); this is the symbol of the flying up of the shaman. The ember-goose (kogas), too, is a symbol for the same thing.

On the heart there are three little figures of devils (emjagjal, abasy), the symbol of the permanent presence of the demon in the heart, furthermore two representations of the iron heart of the devil (sjurachtimirja).

On the collarbones there are two iron stripes, which are supposed to be a representation exactly of the collarbones (chamargan-timirja).

Tjargjan-berja, a representation of the devils' eyes.
Ojgos-belgjunja, two hip-bones (in the sides).
Ojgos-umochtar, four devils' ribs from each side.

An octagonal figure with seven holes, stitched in the throat region. The shamans refuse to give any information as to this item, saying that nobody would dare to pronounce their names, and to explain their significance. [173]

On the sleeves: two shoulder-blades (bjulgjul-timirja).
Two ulnas (akymal-chapgaga).
Arm joints, two small bones (begalcach-sjusiega).
Two cartilages of the palm of the hand (akymal-uljuga).
Two bones, representing bird wings (tabytal-timirja).

14: Krauss--172-173 E-5 (no date) 1888 Yakut-2
116, 292, 756, 301, 532

The fringes on the sleeves mean vulture wings (elie).

On the back: a piece of a seal tail, round children's rattles (abasy-semjaga), all devils ornaments indispensable for a trip to the lower world.

Abasy-balyga, a devil's fish.

Kjular-kjusjanat, the cheerful, gay devil sun; thereon two points of arrows, balyk-kygana, and kandej-sysana, designating the tail of the sun (kjugjan-kuturuka).

Ojbon-timirja, the iron abyss, where the ember-goose hides after having swallowed the shaman. A little bit below, a claw is fixed on this iron, from which the ember-goose will quench his thirst.

Chatat-timirja, the devil's lighter.

Batyrys, a fringe on the tail of the garment.

Two iron arrow points shaped like elk's horns, the significance of which is not certain.

14: Krauss--173 E-5 (no date) 1888 Yakut
116, 756, 787, 554, 782

As soon as one finds himself at a loss to help himself by shamanic magic, one approaches a shaman in the hope to reach the desired healing from the demons by the shaman's mediation. A patient may travel hundreds of versts to find a shaman, and as soon as a shaman arrives somewhere, news of his arrival will quickly spread over the entire neighborhood. Curious people, and those who hope to be relieved from their ailments will crowd together at the spot to see the shaman and to inquire of him about the future. The shamans will never refuse to reply, but will assert that they possess the gift of prophecy, especially during the mystery ceremonies.

The shaman is treated with high respect; he gets a seat in the 'honor corner'. He is entertained with liquor and exquisite meals, before they tell him what their wishes are. The shaman will not hesitate to demand that a bull or horse be killed, in view of the importance of the request and the spirit to be called upon. His demand is met without opposition by the Yakuts, and they usually offer the meat not only to the shaman, but also to all those present. A certain part of the animal is destined for sacrifice, according to the shaman's doctrine.

14: Krauss--173-174 E-5 (no date) 1888 Yakut-1-2
116, 756, 776, 782

After the shaman has appeased his hunger and thirst, he puts on his kuma (if he possesses one), approaches the fireplace at its front side, throws fat into the fire as a sacrifice for the spirits, grasps the fat smoke with open hands and brings them to his mouth to make believe that he is swallowing them and so gets control over the spirit whom he wants to address with his intercession. Then he takes the drum, sits down before the fireplace on a reindeer skin of good quality, and takes a whip which is adorned with fringes of horse hair and motley rags, or with tails of small game, colored with alder bark. The skin is turned towards the fireplace so that the head is next to it. The shaman now beats his drum and tries to divert the spirits' attention towards himself by sounding a long "ay"; he yawns by devilishly opening his mouth, sounds three times the cry of the ember-goose (cek, cek, cek), apes three times the cry of a stork, three times that of a cuckoo, and three times that of a raven.

Then he calls upon the squint-eyed (inistjagas), deformed (keltjagjaj), lame (dogolon) devil (jugjug emjagjat), and curses himself by assuring the Satan of his devotion, promises to be a faithful servant, and asks him to obsess him. Now he rises, supposing that he now has communication with the devil, that the latter has obsessed him, and that he himself now is in command of the devil's power and might. He calls upon the white bird (jurjun-as): "May this become my place; may green grass grow on here; I have given myself to your life and blood, oh Satan! You root of every evil and mishap (ytyk élju

14: Krauss--173-174 E-5 (no date) 1888 Yakut-2
116, 756, 776, 782

térdè)," so he continues, "you monster of the eight feet, I have joined you, so [174] lend your aid in accomplishing the wishes. I have come from sjurdjach-kjaptjach, sjugja-toenton, the terrible god of the hatchet, and from kini-sjurgju-jutjanjan-sjurgjuja, in order to save him by means of the salutary tool. But you, she-shamans of the fiery lashes, who live in the nether world, do not come to the upper world to fight or curse me. I have sat down on the navel of the earth in order to give protection to the sick. I am well aware of my faults, but suppose I were without faults and give way. Your three black shadows, oh devil, have come upon me, so I beg you, help me. Look, I am offering you such an animal, so help my misery!"

14: Krauss--174 E-5 (no date) 1888 Yakut-1-2
116, 756

The shaman then sings with roaring voice, that the satan has visited him, that he has made an agreement with the satan; that the latter would hand the request for healing the sick person to his superior in the nether world, or even to the supreme satan. The arrival of the satan and his going back to hell is commented by the shaman with a song which always constitutes an interruption; he sings for himself as well as for the spirits called upon, whose movements he symbolizes by gesticulation: he will leave the house in a hurry, putting his hands on his eyes as though he looked for somebody. Moreover, he plays a march on his drum.

Often, when the healing of a sick man is expected, the Satan may not at once comply with the request of the shaman; or he may pretend that the shaman demand protection of the upper spirits by himself. In the latter case, the shaman makes them understand, by singing songs and beating the drum, that he is walking on a tiresome way, by wandering up a steep mountain or to heaven, in order to get help directly.

Likewise, the shaman prepares to go down to hell to meet satan without previously calling upon the minor spirits of the nether world, and to explain his wishes and hopes to him in a melancholy, drawling song. The utterance is made by means of the following sentence: " I am approaching as a protector, brandishing the heavenly lightning as a whip; give me back the soul of my child, and accept another sacrifice in recompense! ". Addressing the oldest of the old women (the devil's grandmother, chottut-torga, he says: "if it is you who has caused the disease, give a sign! ".

14: Krauss--174 E-5 (no date) 1888 Yakut-2
116, 756

Now the shaman starts returning to the upper world (ojbon timirja) and on the wings of the ember-goose (kogas) he goes to heaven, where he, by soothing the upper spirits (érdjargja), says the following sentence: "Mother Sun has consented to the healing of the sick man, so you give your consent, too. You will get gifts if I obtain authorization to heal the patient or hear of a reliable means of saving him."

The more favorable news the shaman brings back from his trip to the nether world or to heaven, the more excited are those present in encouraging him, and they ask him with satisfaction to hasten the treatment of the patient. Nevertheless the shaman does not hurry up, but will only be moved after long hesitation on his part and long requests on the part of the people.

According to circumstances, the healing is done in different fashions. The shaman approaches the sick person, observes him, spits into the palm of his own hand, and rubs the affected part of the patient's body. Then he assures the relatives, that if the spirits should be pleased by the offering, the patient will at once be healed; if, however, the spirits would not be satisfied with the sacrifice, it would be beyond his, the shaman's means to alter this decision.

Or else, the shaman approaches the patient's couch and cries three times above the head of the latter: "Just tell me what kind of (sacrificial) animal you want; only leave the patient". The spirit who lives in the sick person replies through the shaman: "If you offer me a sadzaga (a cow with white-spotted back) or a bulur (a dun horse), I shall quit the patient". The animal is offered. For this purpose, ten very small larches (Con-kerbjana) and one birch are needed. One larch and the birch are placed before the tent one behind the other. Nine notches are made into the first larch. The other nine are placed around the first two in a semi-circle. On the southern side they are twisted with a linen cord, which is hanged with motley rags and horse-hair. [175]

14: Krauss--174-175 E-5 (no date) 1888 Yakut-2
116, 756, 782

The animal to be offered is bound on the tree which has been notched (*salama*); the shaman, going to heaven, addresses *Aj-toen* asking pity from him. He says: "As men feel pity towards the patient, and since the *old mothers* (*chotottur*) have given back his soul to him (*kul*), accept the animal instead of his soul". After he has cried three times, and spat at the animal (the patient spits, too), the animal is allowed to run to the flock. Then the shaman continues: "Look, here it is, accept it, give deliverance". "I have accepted it", the devil replies through the shaman, "and the patient will recover within seven, eight, nine days."

14: Krauss--175 E-5 (no date) 1888 Yakut
116, 756, 782

The shaman sings that the devil is at once precipitating into the nether world (ojbon-timirja) with the ember-goose; there he delivers the animal offered for slaughter. For concreteness's sake the shaman takes a little board (which may be interpreted as a table), carves a round hole in it, puts a bit of meat on it, and throws everything into the fire. Then he lights the mane of a black horse three times, inhales the smoke, and asks somebody of the present to cut the fire below his head, and to give him a drink of water and sour milk (umdan), of the water of this world. Now he takes three twigs, beats the drum with them, and exercises the last survivals of the devil: "Those of you who have fallen from above, go up; those of you who have come from below, go down, you devils!" Exhausted by the roaring and by the movements on all sides, and giddy, he sits down, wet with sweat. Occasionally, he is unable with exhaustion to put out his kuma.

An animal which has thus been offered is no more used for work. If it dies, an attempt is made to replace it by another one of the same color, because otherwise, the same disease would return to the former patient. It also happens that the animal is offered to the mothers (chottuttorga). Tongue, heart, and liver are boiled and put on a one-legged table which has been carved for this purpose only. Its top carries a round hole. The balance of the meat is eaten by the Yakuts. The bones and other remains are burned after the meal. Thus the sacrifice is accomplished.

14: Krauss--175 [2]   E-5   (no date) 1888   Yakut
116, 756, 771, 828

It is difficult to consider as normal the mental state of the autochthonous Yakuts while they are performing magic ceremonies. I am not able to read from their faces, which otherwise are very vivid, and I can only say that I always wished that the shaman might finish his ceremony, the earlier the better. Imagine the scene: a little tent with a smoking hearth, before the fire, the obsessed fanatic, who is hardly prevented by two youthful men from throwing himself into the fire or at least breaking his head. The unarticulated roaring and the wild cries may upset even a person who has normal nerves. The shaman is so absorbed in his role that he forgets himself completely. He is evidently convinced of his intercourse with the powerful, evil spirits, whom he need not fear; against whose evil, capricious, and otherwise inexorable will he is now to act by using his entire person which he puts at their disposal. Even if one does not admit that Christianized natives always believe in shamanism, it must be said that all of them, without exception, are afraid of it. Persons who are fully reliable even protested they had known a (Christian) priest who had beaten a shaman and the latter had taken vengeance by making the priest become insane.

14: Krauss--175-176 E-5 (no date) 1888 Yakut
116, 756, 436

The shaman by no means renounces confession and the Holy Communion; he sincerely repents his intercourse with the devil; but he has not as much control of himself as to rid [176] himself of the magic mysteries. Anyhow it is not at all greediness or some other selfish consideration which makes him stick to those ceremonies forever, which bring him nothing but bitter remorse.

I at least never heard anything about a wealthy shaman; on the contrary, the shaman often gets no more than 5 kopeks for healing a sick eye. And how little is this sum worth north of Yakutsk! Some Yakuts refused to accept a twenty kopeks coin for a hazel-hen I wanted to buy, saying that they could not manage to use the money; if it had an eye, they would have used it as a button; but as there was no such, I was to take it back. The smallest unit for them is the ruble.

14: Krauss--176 E-5 (no date) 1888 Yakut
116, 756

The powerful nervous shock which the shaman undergoes when performing the mystery ceremony makes him completely exhausted for the rest of the day. When I gathered information among the natives on the Lena and Jana mouths I learned--and the shamans themselves were ready to admit it--that it is generally known that shaman families are seldom happy. The shamans and their relatives are permanently visited by diseases and accidents. But they conform to what they call their fate and declare that they are unable to escape it in view of their hopeless and wretched condition.

14: Krauss--176 [2] E-5 (no date) 1888 Yakut
116, 756, 562

Besides the male shamans there are also female ones (udagan). They, too, are servants of the spirits of the nether world. As these women do not enjoy particular fame and no such authority as their male colleagues, recourse to them is taken only when there is no male shaman available; and even so only in case a thief or some stolen goods are to be sought.

The number of female shamans is larger than that of male shamans. According to the natives, those women are more efficient in healing insanes, so that in such cases only preference is given to them.

14: Krauss--176 [3] E-5 (no date) 1888 Yakut
116, 756, 766, 532, 177

When a male or female shaman dies, the corpse is wrapped up in a kuma and put in a piece of wood. At the head a wooden image is put which is supposed to represent a falcon; at the feet a cuckoo, and at either hip an idol which is to indicate that the spirits carry the soul of the shaman away into their realm. The shaman's corpse is not buried, but exposed on high posts at a free place, or on a tree. Such a place is called chorcach.

I succeeded in finding such a grave in the northern part of Verchojan, and in getting hold of iron parts of the decomposed kuma. As a rule the defunct gets his best garment, sometimes also some furs and a cap. A pipe and a tobacco-pouch is put in his hands; at his feet he has a wooden dish with a meal. In some of the graves I found several iron tools which the defunct had used in manufacturing chamois leather out of deer skin; furthermore bows with arrows, and spears for bear-hunting. According to Pripuzov's statements, the Christian funeral custom is beginning to become familiar also with the shamans.

15: Popov -- 257- 258 E-3 (no date) 1933 Yakut-1-2
116, 326, 539, 554 756, 774

" 'The blacksmith and the shaman are from the same nest,' says the Yakut proverb.(2)

2. Sieroshevsky, V. L., The Yakuts. St. Petersburg, 1896, p. 631.

The blacksmith has even the greater supernatural powers. 'The first blacksmith, the first shaman, and the first potter were blood brothers. The blacksmith was the oldest, and the shaman the middle.' Therefore the shaman being younger cannot cause the death of the blacksmith. In every attempt of the shaman 'to eat the blacksmith', the tools of the latter, his tongs, his hammer, and the anvil are transformed into winged creatures, which, flying around, strike and pinch the shaman. When the shaman wishes to thrash the soul (3) of the blacksmith, this soul hides in the kuolgan (the iron plate with seven

3. According to Yastremsky, the Yakut believe that the soul, kut, consists of three elements: buor-kut (earth-soul), iya kut (mother soul), anya kut (father soul). After death the soul undergoes transformations, and the souls of the famous shamans can be transformed seven times. According to Baishev, bour kut remains after the death with the corpse in the grave; salgin kut is transformed into a wandering spirit, yor, and sur kut after death is reincarnated. (Tr.)

15: Popov --257-258 E-3 (no date)1933 Yakut-2
116, 326, 539, 554, 756, 774

or nine holes of different diameters for punching holes in [258] the metals), where the shaman cannot reach him.(1)

1. Kulakovsky, A. E., Materials for the Study of the Beliefs of the Yakuts, Yakutsk, 1923, pp. 67-68.

Moreover small models of the blacksmith's paraphernalia serve as amulets to the shaman."(2)

2. Potanin, G. N., Thunder in the Beliefs and Folklore of the Tribes of Southern Siberia and Northern Mongolia. Journal of Department of Education, January 1882, p. 159.

15: Popov -- 258 E-3 (no date) 1933 Yakut -1-2
116, 326, 756, 774

"According to the ideas of the Dolgans, (3) the shaman cannot swallow the soul of the blacksmith because it is preserved in fire, but the blacksmith on the contrary can easily kill the shaman. In order to do this, he must throw his kuolgan under the feet of the shaman leaving the forge, or bury it in the doorway over which the shaman will pass, pronouncing at the same time special incantations. (4) By stepping over it the shaman leaves his soul in the kuolgan. When the shaman leaves, the blacksmith destroys his soul by heating the kuolgan until it is red hot. A blacksmith can also kill a shaman by playing upon the belief that his spirits are afraid of the sparks from the heated iron. When a shaman leaves the forge, the blacksmith forcibly strikes the heated piece of iron and says: 'Let it pierce his back'' (5) The sparks fall upon the shaman and he soon dies.

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3. The Dolgans are nomadic tribes of Yakutized Tungus who wander over the territory of the river Taimir, the upper part of the Piasina and Dudipta Rivers and the Nolir Lakes. (Tr.)

4. Yakuts of Viluysk region, author's notes.

5. Kulakovsky, op. cit. p. 68

15: Popov -- 258 E-3 (no date) 1933 Yakut-2
116, 326, 756, 774

Because of this danger the shaman cannot pass without danger between the anvil and the forge during the shamanizing.

According to V. L. Sieroshevsky, (6) in the north shamans refuse to perform the ceremony in a room where there are blacksmith tools. The blacksmith is regarded as having supernatural advantage over the shaman also among the Buriats. The Buriat blacksmith, when he makes the bell pendants, for the horse sticks of the shaman, insists that there should not be less than ninety, but the shaman being afraid of this fatal number tries to persuade the blacksmith to make fewer, otherwise he will soon die. (7)

6. Sieroshevsky, V. L., Twelve Years among the Yakuts. Warsaw, 1900,

7. Agatipov and Hangalov, Materials for the Study of Shamanism in Siberia. Izvestia of Russian Geog. Society, Vol. XIV, Nos. 1-2, p. 8."

15: Popov -- 258-259 E-3 (no date) 1933 Yakut
116, 326, 756, 774

"The forging of the shamanistic pendants is a very serious task not without danger to the blacksmith and requires special preparations. Among the Dolgans it is necessary for two men to work together. This is always done at the end of spring, outside, away from the dwellings, in a place surrounded by a special palisade. One of the blacksmiths stands upon the hide of a wolverine, the other upon a wolf-skin, the bellows man upon the skin of a white deer specially killed for this purpose as it 'governs the spirit of the fire'. If the bellows man does not have this[259] hide, his whole body will be covered with sores. The blacksmith who must make these pendants for the shamans is selected by the shaman's spirit, and cannot refuse or his luck will leave him. The shaman projects his spirit into the blacksmith while he is forging the pendants, so that it is not the blacksmith who makes them but the spirit of the shaman."

15: Popov -- 259 E-3 (no date) 1933 Yakut
116, 326, 756, 562, 778

"The tools used in the preparation of shamanistic paraphernalia become sacred among the Dolgans [RCH: nomadic tribes of Yakutized Tungus] and before the anvil can be used again for secular pruposes it must be smeared with fat of a wild reindeer. The latter is used also before forging to insure the anvil against cracking, for if an anvil is broken during the work it is considered a bad omen for the blacksmith. In general all old blacksmith tools are revered as sacred objects. They are transported on special spotted reindeer which are called 'the reindeer of the anvil', and a woman, being unclean, cannot ride on these reindeer."

15: Popov --260 E-3 (no date) 1933 Yakut
116, 326, 539, 556, 756

"Among the Yakut,blacksmiths as well as shamans usually are not rich. This gave rise to the following tale:

'Long ago God asked a blacksmith, a shaman and a merchant: 'What are your profits?' The shaman and the blacksmith lied and said they made hardly anything. The merchant spoke the truth. Then God said that as a punishment for lying the shaman and the blacksmith should never become rich.'"

15: Popov -- 260-261 E-3 (no date) 1933 Yakut-1-3
116, 326, 539, 756, 776

"Among the Yakut, blacksmiths receive their skill from the evil deity K'daai Maqsin, chief blacksmith in the whole underworld. He lives in an iron house, and owns black cattle with white heads, and spotted red horses. For many versts before the approach to his house the ground is covered with remains of fired slag iron. The forehead of this deity is covered with dirt nine fingers thick, his cheeks with rust three fingers thick, the face is like a chunk of earth torn from the mountain; his eyes are always closed and when he wishes to see, eight men from above and eight men from below drag the iron lids apart with iron hooks. (1) K'daai Maqsin is a great master. If a valiant hero, a vassal of the evil spirits, loses his arm or leg, he forges him a new one and fixes it in the prpper place. He can make rifles which do not miss, and a garb which will protect against bullets. He can add strength to a weaker hero. He makes a very hard iron which he tempers in a special liquid made of the blood of a lion, the tears of a species of seal,

1. Iron eyelids are a common attribute of Yakut heroic personages. Thus Arsan-Duolan-Old Man is similarly described: One man with the iron hook ran up over his breast, hooked his lower eyelid and dragged it down. Another man with a hook ran over his back and propping himself against the stony back of Old Man's head, cought his upper eyelids with the hooks and dragged them up. (Yastremsky, p. 19). (Tr.)

15: Popov --260-261 E-3 (no date) 1933 Yakut -2
116, 326, 539, 756, 776

blood from the lips of a young man and the blood of the cheeks of a young girl. His bellows are made of thirty cowhides. He has as assistants hammer-men, bellows-men and file-men.

K'daai Maqsin also caused shamans to be introduced into this world, The Yakut tell the following tale: Long, long ago evil spirits lived on earth with the people, but often abused them by stealing their women. The husbands in pursuit penetrated into the lower world and reached the place where they could not continue their way without horses. They [261] asked K'daai Maqsin for help, and he forged horses for them on condition that they send to him upon their return nine jet black mares with white heads as payment for his work. The men asked him: 'With whom shall we send the horses to you?' 'With the famous shaman!' replied the Blacksmith of the Underworld. From this time on shamans were on the earth.

Moreover, sometimes K'daai Maqsin personally participates in the initiation of the famous shamans of the lower world: he tempers their souls as he tempers iron.

K'daai Maqsin, after teaching the people the blacksmith's art, did not tell them how to weld the iron. The first blacksmith asked a very esteemed old man for advice in this matter, who said to him: 'When the devil comes to you, heat a large piece of iron in the fire, cover it with snow and strike it with a heavy sledge hammer. The great noise will scare the devil and perhaps, being frightened he will disclose to you the secret.' The blacksmith listened to the advice and when the devil came to him he acted accordingly.

15: Popov -- 260 - 261 E-3 (no date) 1933 Yakut - 3
116, 326 539, 756, 776

At the loud retort the devil, losing his wits from fright, yelled: 'Use sand.' From this time on blacksmiths have known how to weld iron by the use of sand. (1)

1. Pripusov, N. P., Shamanism of the Yakuts of the Yakutsk region. Izvestia of East Siberian section of R. G. S. Vol. XV, pp. 3-4."

15: Popov -- 261 E-3 (no date) 1933 Yakut
116, 326, 756, 776

"Among the Buriat also the blacksmith art is of supernatural origin. The people learned the art from the southwestern i. e. good, and northeastern, i. e. evil, spirits. Those who learned from the first are called 'white' and those who learned from the second 'black' blacksmiths. Today among the Yakut there is no division between 'white' and 'black' blacksmiths, and they all obtain their power from K'daai Maqsin. [RCH: see category 116, pp. 260-261] Only shamans are divided into black and white in this tribe. Gorohov (2) in the notes to the tale 'Iurun Iolan' says that the white shamans do not have shamanistic dress, not even the tambourine. The author also was told that the ancient white shamans wore few iron pendants, and sometimes none. Consequently these shamans did not need to apply to the blacksmiths."

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2. Izvestia of the Siberian Section of Russian Geographical Society, Vol. XV. Nos. 5-6, p. 56.

15: Popov -- 261-262 E-3 (no date) 1933 Yakut
116, 326, 756, 782, 822

"Only the man who is chosen by the deity himself can be a real blacksmith among the Yakut. K'daai Maqsin [RCH: see category 116, pp. 260-261] selects only those whose hammer-noises reach his habitation, and he indicates his choice by making the novice sick. Woe to one who fails to understand this; he will die, or at best will remain a cripple for the rest of his days. The blacksmith during his sickness must donate to K'daai Maqsin through the shaman a bull or a cow of 'three grasses' (3) of any color.

3. Three years old.

Formerly the animal had to be of a definite color, 'red' according to Pripusov, 'black' [262] according to Kornilov. (1) The head, the heart with the arteries, and the liver

1. Kornilov I., The Ceremony of Initiation of the Blacksmith and Kitai Bahsi, the Ancestor of Blacksmiths. Izvestia of E. Siberia, Section of Russian Geographical Society, Vol. XXXIX, 1908, p. 85.

of the sacrificial animal are placed during the shamanistic ceremony on the anvil and are struck with hammers." [RCH: for text of the complete consecration ritual of a novice blacksmith among the Yakut, see category 539, pp. 262-271]

15: Popov --262 E-3 (no date) 1933 Yakut
116, 326, 782, 756, 177.78 Russia
636.78

"A description of the sacrifice to the deity by the blacksmiths is given in the literature by Kornilov. (2) Due to the interesting details I quote it verbatim: 'The ceremony takes

2. Op. cit.

over the three year old black bull. The shaman takes the soul of the bull and hands it to Kitai Bahsi saying, 'I have brought to you a sacrifice for this man; do not harm him but make a blacksmith out of him.' After the shamanistic ceremony the heart of the animal is extracted with iron tongs and is placed on the anvil. The initiated must strike it with the hammer and smash it. If he crushes it with one blow he will be a good blacksmith, if he requires more, he will be medium or bad.' The custom described by Kornilov is very likely older than the one described below, as is indicated by the more cruel method of killing the animal. This method, not especially ritualistic but not general in the old times, was abandoned by order of the Russian authorities."

16: Great Britain Admiralty --225 G-3 (no date) 1920 Yakut
116, 756

"Shamans are of various kinds. Among the Chukchee there are three kinds of professional shamans: the first practise ecstatic ravings, the second foretell the future as prophets, the third utter incantations; these last again are subdivided into good and bad, and are distinguished by their red and black coats respectively. With the Yakuts they are divided into Great, Middle and Little Shamans in accordance with the degree of their powers; the first has his ämägyat [RCH: accompanying shaman spirits] from Ai Toion himself; the second has ämägyat, but it is not of so powerful a kind; the third has nothing that deserves the name of ämägyat, but is only an abnormal neurotic person, 'who can cure trifling illnesses, interpret dreams, or frighten small devils away'. Originally among the Yakuts there was more of woman-shamanism, as among the Palaeo-Siberian tribes."

17: Erman--308-309 N-3 (1828-29) 1850 Yakut-1-2
116, 782, 756, 231

"At the yurts of Porotovsk, 109 versts from Yakutsk, I made at noon magnetical and astronomical observations, and here already I found the Russian maps erring considerably in the position of places with respect to Yakutsk; we then went over thickly wooded hills to Churopchinsk, and thence to Aruilákhinsk, where we stayed till morning. In the woods between these places, I remarked for the first time, a singular custom of the nomadic Yakuts. At different points on the road the trees were to be seen hung thick with horse-hair, and my driver assured me that every horseman who passed by was sure to add more or less to this strange store. Here, also, it was manifest that white horses prevail among the Yakuts; but, apart from this, many of the tufts of hair had so weather-beaten an appearance, that there could be no doubt of their antiquity. Others were quite fresh, and had been tied on the boughs but a day or two. Our Yakut attendant said further, in reply to our inquiries--and, indeed, all his answers in similar matters were much to the same effect--that it was done in compliance with ancient custom, and that he knew no other reason for it. Yet the religious bearing of this custom appears at once from its name, which signifies a propitiation for the Lieshi or Spirit of the Woods, as the Kosaks explain it. All the merchants of Yakutsk deem it expedient to adopt, when travelling, the prevalent belief, and to satisfy its demands at the cost of their horses' tails. The Yakuts here have clung to several other devout inventions of their shamans. Thus the annual consecration of a horse is usual with them, as with the Western Turkish tribes. They select for this purpose the best stallions, which, after

17: Erman--308-309 N-3 (1828-29) 1850 Yakut-2
116, 782, 756, 231

receiving certain benedictions, remain thenceforth exempt from every kind of work. It is possible that they intend thereby to offer a kind of satisfaction in general for the labours or violent death await- [309] ing them, yet the shrewd priests have not overlooked the practical advantage of securing good treatment for the fathers of the droves."

18: Priklonski--81 [2] E-5 (no date) 1891 Yakut
116, 614, 753, 756, 776

It is, above all, up to the shaman, after being called to a patient to find out the name of the spirit in question, because every spirit causes only those diseases which are peculiar to his sib. He must, moreover, find out, what kind of sacrifice has to be offered in order to appease the spirit and make him abstain from his hostility towards the patient. For this purpose the exorcist performs a mystic ceremony before the couch of the patient. After having dressed in his official dress (kumà) he takes his drum (djugjur), which is his leader through the nether world and the seven heavens, and invokes the spirits of his dead ancestors and relatives, the spirits of mighty shamans. Through their mediation he goes down to the subterraneous world of the spirits, then climbs on strongly-turned ropes from one heaven to the other (which he reports in his mystic and ecstatic songs) asking whoever he is meeting: "who is the spirit that keeps my protégé in prison?" After a long migration he receives information on the permanent domicile of the spirit; finally, further devices are applied to get into negotiations with the found demon under the supervision of the protectors of the shaman.

18: Priklonski--81-82 E-5 (no date) 1891 Yakut
116, 756, 776, 782

Once the shaman has managed to get in touch with the spirit he persuades himself that he is standing in the face of him, indulges in high praises of his power, strength, and importance, makes honorable remarks on his own profession which culminates in helping suffering mankind and paying reverence and unperturbable devotion to the spirits and invokes the demon for the mercy of caring for his, the shaman's, protégé, of having pity with his torment and the disconsolate state of his family, and of freeing his soul which he, the demon, is holding in his almightly hands. The negotiations of the shaman with the spirit are not always successful; because much depends on the disposition of the spirit. The mediation is considered successful when the demon definitely states which kind of sacrifices he is ready to accept. Quite often it happens that the shaman persuades the demon to be content, in view of poverty prevailing the family, [82] with a minor offering and to accept the skin of a polar hare or fox instead of a foal or bull. The shaman then notifies the persons present of the issue of the negotiations, whereupon they give him the sacrifice to be done.

18: Priklonski--82 E-5 (no date) 1891 Yakut
116, 753, 756, 761, 774, 776

The shaman's endeavor is not always successful. He may not succeed in finding out the identity of the spirit who causes the illness, or once that he has managed to, he may not be able to locate him at a given moment, or, at last, the negotiations may have failed to bring about persuasion of the frightful, cruel demon, to appease him, to change his ire into indulgence. Unconditionally helpless is the shaman with pestilence and epidemics (džan). The demon will not cease grasping the soul (kut) of the patient as a prey, takes possession of it, severs it from the body, and flees away with it. The patient's body remains unmoved and stops breathing, and unless the dreadful demon is propitiated before long, the soul will fail to come back to its former abode, the bodily frame will cool down and be subject to decomposition.

18: Priklonski--83 [2] E-5 (no date) 1891 Yakut
116, 177, 756, 769

Before the rise of Christianity the Yakuts did not know of celebrations to honor the memory of a dead person, and even now they are still careful to avoid graves and burial places. In the neighborhood of the village of Kazačje near the mouth of the Yana river I had an opportunity to see the burial place of a shaman on trees, ten versts from inhabited houses. The trip to the burial place was very difficult to make. I could hardly persuade the people to give me reindeer and a guide. The coffin chest was entirely broken through the influence of weather conditions. Inside, I still found the head of the corpse with the hair; the other bones had probably been carried away by quadrupedes and birds. The small metal plates and jewelry I found both in the fragments of the chest and on the ground, and which were rests of ornaments from the dress, indicated that the defunct was a shaman as far as his rank is concerned; a hat buckle such as are worn by women made it probable that it had been a female shaman.

18: Priklonski--83 [3] E-5 (no date) 1891 Yakut
116, 756, 766, 775

In the village I learned that only shamans had been buried on trees in recent times. In their lifetime their only concern had been spiritual affairs, so that they had to be buried somewhere nearer the heaven even after their deaths. This conception does not equalize the shamans to inhabitants of heaven, but only means that he must not be locked up in the earth who in his lifetime was connected with it only by tender ties. They were buried in the woods at an inaccessible place so that one should come near it as rarely as possible. Just as the shaman, as long as he was alive, had the gift to harm a personal enemy for personal revenge, just as well his soul, freed of the body, may trouble the survivors after the shaman's death. Not a single native, and not even a Russian born in the Yakutsk region would venture to approach the grave of a shaman or even to touch it.

24: Wrangell--39 [2]   G-3   (1820-23) 1842   Yakut
116, 615, 631, 756

"Every tribe of Jakuti is divided into several nasèlji, each of which is under a knăsez or chief, by whom minor disputes, &c., are settled. More serious cases go before the golowa or superintendent of the whole tribe, who is elected from among the knăsez. The people often call in a schaman or conjuror, and have recourse to his incantations to recover a strayed cow, to cure a sick person, or to obtain good weather for a journey, &c., &c."

24: Wrangell--166-167 G-3 (1820-23) 1842 Yakut -1-2
116, 161, 177, 233, 756, 847

"The Jakuti who live on the banks of the Kolyma are not the original inhabitants of the country; their predecessors were the Omoki, the Schelagi, the Tungusi, and the Jukahiri. The Omoki, who were settled fishermen, and the Schelagi, who were a nomad people having reindeer, have so wholly disappeared, partly from wars with intruders, and partly from devastating sickness, that their names are now scarcely remembered. The Jukahiri, also, who were once a numerous nomade race, have greatly diminished. Most of them, having lost their reindeer by disease, now live poorly as fishermen along the banks of different rivers; while a few, who have preserved their reindeer, have withdrawn with them into the tundras near the sea. The Jakuti alone have not only kept up their numbers, but have advanced very considerably in population, and [167] in the cultivation of the soil. To them belongs the merit of having introduced the rearing of cattle and horses, and other branches of rural industry, into a region where the soil, and still more the climate, appeared to forbid all such attempts, and thus securing not merely a subsistence, but some degree of comfort. They may be said to have rendered these inhospitable steppes accessible to the intrepid descendants of Jermak, who have brought with them Christianity, and rescued an ignorant and superstitious people from the delusions of Schamanism and its barbarous customs. (1)

1. It was a frequent practice to expose new-born female children in baskets, suspended from the branches of trees. Sometimes it

24: Wrangell--166-167 G-3 (1820-23) 1842 Yakut-2
116, 161, 177, 233, 756, 847

> happened that, before the infants perished from cold and hunger, they were found and adopted by strangers; and old women are still to be met with in families of which they became members in this way.

The Jakuti are now all baptized. A priest from Sredne Kolymsk visits these settlements every year. An ecclesiastic named Slezzow, who resided here twenty years ago, manifested great courage and zeal in abolishing Schamanism. Wherever he found any idols or heathen altars, he caused them to be destroyed by fire or thrown into the water, and none such are now to be met with. There are still, however, as I have noticed in a former chapter, schamans , who continue to have a few adherents, and are generally consulted, and even by Russians, in regard to finding a stray beast or discovering stolen property."

24: Wrangell--192-193 G-3 (1820-23) 1842 Yakut
116, 177, 431, 756, 771

"They [RCH: i.e., the population on the Aniuk River which includes Yakuts] have all been baptized, and conform to the usages of the Russian Church at least once a year, when the different settlements are visited by the priest of Nishne Kolymsk, for the purpose of solemnizing marriages, christenings, and burials, and of administering the Lord's Supper. The journey is a very difficult and laborious one, as it includes a cir- [193] cuit of many hundred wersts, at the worst season of the year, and in a wild and desert country. It is, however, a very advantageous journey to the priest in a pecuniary point of view, from the number of presents which he receives; it being not uncommon for him to return with two or three sledges laden with the most costly furs, as sables, ermines, foxes, &c."

24: Wrangell--193 G-3 (1820-23) 1842 Yakut
116, 177, 756, 771

"Pagan superstitions have been a good deal checked by the introduction of Christianity, but the belief in the power both of good and evil spirits, and of the schamans, still keeps its ground, and, singularly enough, has extended itself to the Russians. I have even been assured, that a priest who was about to undertake a journey to Irkuzk, applied to a schaman to afford him protection by his art against any accidents on the road! Generally speaking, however, Schamanism has lost its religious character. With the Russians it is for the most part merely a mode of passing away the time, and they send for a schaman to occupy an evening in the practice of his tricks, just as in Europe people send for a conjuror."

45: Lesseps-- 305 T-2 (1788) 1790 Yakut
116, 756, 796

" I very much regret the not having been present at their festival in the month of May, in celebration of the return of spring. They assemble in the open country , where they roast oxen and horses; and being supplied with an abundance of fermented koumouiss, they eat and drink to satiety, dancing and singing at intervals, and concluding at last with necromancies. Their chamans preside in these festivals, and deal out their extravagant predictions."

45: Lesseps--305-307 T-2 (1788) 1790 Yakut
116, 756

" These sorcerers are more at liberty and more revered than in Kamtschatka. Regarded as interpreters of the gods, they grant their mediation to the stupid Yakout, who implores it with trembling, but always pays for it. I have seen these dupes give their finest horse to conduct a chaman to his [306] village. Nothing can be more frightful than the magic exhibitions of these impostors.

Dressed in a habit that was ornamented with belles and plates of iron, which made a deafening noise, he beat besides on a bouben, or tabor, with a degree of force that was terrifying. He then ran about like a maniac, with his mouth open, and his head turned in every direction. His black deshevelled hair (1) concealed his face,

1. Nothing is more easy than to distinguish the chamans, who let their hair grow, and tie it behind, from the Yakouts, who wear their hair short.

and be- [307] neath it proceeded at one moment real groans, the next tears and sobs, and then loud peals of laughter, the usual preludes of these revelations."

322
532
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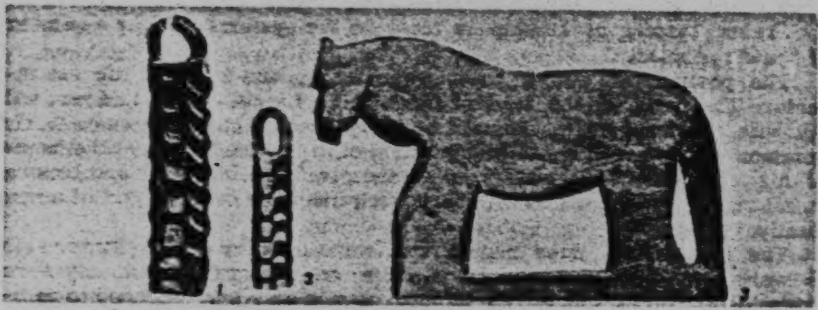

Wooden toys: 1—ox, 2—cow; 3—horse.

771 the toyons, were zealous Christians. Actually, this is understandable, since Christianity was far better suited than shamanism to satisfying the class interests of the rich people. Nevertheless, the old, pre-Christian religion did not entirely disappear, and the older beliefs, although somewhat modified through the influence of Christian ideas, still kept their hold; and the shamans, the ministers of the old cult, still enjoyed authority, although they were forced to some extent to conceal their activities from the tsarist administrators and Orthodox clergy. Shamanism and the animistic beliefs associated with it seem to have been the most persistent element of the old Yakut religion.

756 171 The Yakut shamanism was closest of all to the Tungus type. The Yakut shaman tambourine (wide-rimmed and oval) was exactly the same as the Tungus tambourine; the costume was also the Tungus type, except that the Yakut shamans officiated with uncovered heads. The similarity involved more than just their outward appearance; it also showed up in the more important details of the beliefs and rituals.

● 756 The Yakut shaman (oyuun) was considered the professional attendant of the spirits. According to Yakut belief, anyone chosen by the spirits to serve them could become a shaman, but the shamans were usually from the same families: "in a clan where a shaman has once appeared, he does not pass away," said the Yakuts. Apart from men shamans, there were also women shamans (*удаган*), who were considered to be [753] even more powerful. A sign of readiness to adopt the profession of shaman was a nervous ailment, which was interpreted as evidence that the person had been "elected" by the spirits; this was followed by a period of training under the guidance of an old shaman, and finally by a ritual public consecration.

756 776 It was thought that the spirit electing the shaman became his patron spirit (emeget), and that it was the soul of an important shaman who had died earlier. Its image in the form of a flat copper effigy was worn among the other pendants with the shaman costume; the image was also called an emeget. The patron spirit imbues the shaman with strength and knowledge. The shaman sees and hears only through his emeget. Besides the latter, every shaman has his own animal double (iye-kyyl, "mother beast") in the form of an invisible eagle, stallion, bull, bear and so on. Finally, besides these personal spirits, every shaman was associated with a number of other spirits in human or bestial form when casting his spells. The different categories of spirits associated with the shaman's activity had their own specific names.

[753] The most important and largest group of spirits were the abaahy (or abaasy), devouring spirits to whose activity certain diseases were attributed.

attributed. The believing Yakuts considered that the cure of disease 776
by a shaman actually consisted in elucidating which abaasy had caused 756
the disease, battling against them or offering them a sacrifice, and expelling them from the patient. According to shamanistic belief, the abaasy lived in tribes or clans partly in the "upper" and partly in the "lower" world, as well as in the "middle" world, the earth.

The spirits living in the "upper" world were offered sacrifices of 776
horses, and those in the "lower" world of cattle. Close to the abaasy 775
were the yör, evil spirits, for the most part minor ones, who were the souls of people who had died prematurely or violently, and also the souls 756
of deceased shamans, sorcerers and so on. The ability to cause people harm was attributed to these spirits, but they also lived in the "middle" world (on the earth and around it). The beliefs about them are very close to the Russian superstitions regarding "unclean" or possessed dead persons. Small spirits called kelens were considered to assist the shaman to do various tricks while he was performing.

Among the important deities in the shamanistic pantheon first place is taken by the powerful and awe-inspiring Uluu-Toyon, who was head of the "upper" world spirits and patron of shamans: "he created the shaman and taught him to fight against all evils; he gave people fire." Living in the upper world (on the western side of the third heaven), Uluu-Toyon was also able to come down to earth in the form of larger animals such as the bear, elk, ox or black stallion. Below Uluu-Toyon were other more or less powerful deities, each of which had its own name and epithet, its residence and its special interest. Examples of these are Ala Buuray Toyon (Arsan Duolay or Allara-Ogon'or, "the old man from underground"), head of the underground abaasy, creator of everything harmful and unpleasant, Aan Arbatyy Toyon (or Arkhakh Toyon), who caused consumption and so on.

The presence of the important deities in the shamanistic pantheon [170]
of the Yakuts distinguishes their shamanism from the Tungus type (the Tungus did not believe in the important gods to a very large extent) and brings it close to the shamanism of the Altay-Sayan peoples. Generally speaking, it is a feature of a later stage of the development of shamanism.

The main duties of the shamans were to "cure" sick people and animals and to "avert" all catastrophies. Their devices could be reduced to casting spells (accompanied by singing, dancing, banging of a tambourine, and so on), usually at night, during which the shaman worked himself into a frenzy and, according to Yakut superstition, his soul flew up to join the spirits, or else the spirits entered his body; his magic enabled him to overcome and chase out the wicked spirits, to learn about the sacrifices required by the spirits, to make them, and so on. On the side, during the ritual the shaman became a diviner, answering various questions put to him by the onlookers, and also showing various magic tricks which were supposed to increase his authority and make people more frightened of him.

In return for his offices the shaman received a fee, particularly if his spells were successful, which usually varied between 1 ruble and 25 rubles or more. Furthermore, the shaman was always given food and drink and allowed to eat the sacrificial meat, part of which he sometimes took home. Although the shamans usually had their own households, which were at times of quite a size, the fee for their magic constituted a considerable item of their income. The shaman's demand for a sacrifice was a great burden to the population.

326 756 The same kind of superstitious awe with which the shamans were regarded was also applied to the smiths, particularly hereditary smiths who were believed to have mysterious powers. The smith was considered to some extent related to the shaman. "The smith and the shaman are out of one nest." Smiths could treat illnesses, give advice and even make prophecies. The smith forged iron pendants for the shaman's costume, and this fact alone made him awesome. The smith had special power over the spirits for, according to Yakut superstition, spirits were afraid of the sound of iron and the noise of the smith's bellows.

776 782 Apart from shamanism, the Yakuts had another cult, connected with their livelihood. The chief deity in this cult was Bay-Bayanay, the spirit of the forest and patron of hunting and fishing. According to some beliefs, Bayanay had 11 brothers. They brought luck in hunting and fishing, so that the hunter exorted them to help him before he went out hunting, and after a successful hunt made them offerings of some of the catch by throwing pieces of fat into the fire or smearing the images of Bayanay with blood.

776 The belief in ichchi or "masters" of different objects was evidently connected with hunting and fishing. The Yakuts believed that all animals, trees, and different phenomena of nature possessed ichchi, just as certain domestic articles, such as knives and axes. The ichchi themselves were neither good nor evil. In order to placate the "masters" of the mountains, cliffs, rivers, forests and so on, at various places—river crossings, mountain passes and so on—the Yakuts left small offerings of pieces of meat, butter and other food, and also scraps of cloth. 776 825 The worship of certain animals came close to this cult as well. The bear was an object of great reverence and as a result people avoided calling it by name, were afraid of killing it, and considered it to be a transformed sorcerer. The eagle was also worshipped and called toyon kyyl ("mister beast"), and so were the raven, hawk and certain other birds and animals.

776 All these beliefs go back to the ancient means of livelihood of the Yakuts, and pastoralism also gave rise to its own set of beliefs and rituals. These comprised the cult of the deities of fertility, which was not preserved for very long and is therefore less known. Among these beliefs was clearly the belief in ayyy, benevolent deities who bestowed various benefits. It was thought the ayyy lived in the east.

First place among the benevolent spirits was taken by Urun-Ayyy-Toyon ("white lord and creator"), who lived in the eighth heaven, was kind and did not interfere in human affairs, hence there was apparently no cult of him. The image of this spirit was very much mixed up with features of the Christian God. According to a certain belief, still higher than Ayyy-Toyon was Aar-Toyon, who inhabited the ninth heaven. Below them followed a large number of other benevolent deities, who were supposed to bestow various blessings. The most important figure among them [844] was the female deity *Аыыһыт* (Ayyysyt), who bestowed fertility, patronized women in labor and gave mothers their children. Sacrifices were made to Ayyysyt during childbirth, and since it was considered that after the birth this goddess remained three days in the house, a special female ritual (to which men were not allowed to come) was performed at the end of three days in order to celebrate her departure.

796 The chief ceremony in honor of the benevolent deities, the patrons of fertility, was the kumys festival, *ыһыах*, in the old days. This festival was organized in the spring or halfway through the summer, when there was plenty of milk; it was held in the open air, in the meadows, and many people gathered together for it. The peak moment of the festival

was a ceremonial libation of kumys in honor of the deities, prayers 796
to them, the ceremonial drinking of the kumys from very large wooden
goblets (choroon). After this there was feasting, games of various kinds,
wrestling and so on. The attendants of the benevolent deities, the so- [756]
called ayyy-oyuuna ("white shamans"), were the masters of ceremonies
at the festivities, although they died out among the Yakuts a long time [178]
ago, on account of the decline of this cult. By the end of the 19th century,
there remained only legends of the white shamans.

In the cult of both the benevolent and malevolent deities, a part was 565
played at one stage by the military aristocracy—the toyons; they were
usually the organizers. In their legendary genealogies the toyons often 796
derived their names from the great and powerful deities.

The ancient ysyakh retained elements of the clan cult, and accord- 614
ing to legend they had been organized according to clan in former times.
The Yakuts retained other survivals of the clan cult, but these were not 776
very clearly marked. For example, they retained elements of totemism, pointed out in the literature of the 18th century (Stralenberg). Each clan had at one time its own patron in the form of an animal; the clan totems were, for example, ravens, swans, falcons, eagles, squirrels, and so on. The members of a particular clan not only refrained from slaughtering their patrons and eating them as food, but also avoided mentioning them by name.

Associated with the clan cult was the worship of fire, which is still 372
retained by the Yakuts. Fire, according to Yakut superstition, is the purest element and it was forbidden to defile or dishonor it. Before each meal was started, pieces of food were thrown into the fire; it was splashed with milk, kumys and so on. All this was considered a sacrifice to the master of the fire (Uot-ichchite). There was often not only a single master, but as many as seven brothers. No images were made
of them. The cult of ancestors among the Yakuts was poorly developed. 769
Among the deceased it was only the shamans and certain outstanding people whose memory was honored, and whose spirits, for some reason, were feared.

Folklore

The folklore of the Yakuts was somewhat one-sided, but in certain 53
regions it reached a high artistic level. Apart from the wealth of varied and deeply poetic oral folklore, singing was far less developed and instrumental music hardly existed at all; dancing was fairly poorly developed and monotonous. In the realm of graphic art, the Yakuts only developed the applied forms—finishing and ornamentation of articles in everyday use.

A whole series of different genres and forms stand out among the oral 538
creation of the Yakuts. One of the most interesting is the epic poem—the olonkho.

This is a very ancient type of folk poetry and originated in the clan-tribal age. The language of the olonkho is archaic, and contains a large number of obsolete, almost incomprehensible words and expressions, though it is at the same time rich, colorful and imaginative; the vocabulary of the epic contains almost twice as many words as the everyday language. Consequently, these works are difficult to translate into other languages. The olonkho describes the exploits of mythical warriors (bootur) and their struggles against the evil spirits, the abaasy. There are whole cycles of these poems built round the images

421 was considered collective property, particularly in summer when several
households nomadized together. Having killed a wild reindeer, the hunter
224 was expected to give up the skin and meat to the families of his group, but
226 keep the head and neck for himself. During the collective trapping of geese
or spearing of wild reindeer a representative was chosen to make the division,
and everything caught was divided up by families, according to the
number of members.

224 The sites to be used by the nomadic groups for their summer hunting
and fishing were decided in the spring, before the mosquitoes appeared.
The heads of the groups would agree on the places where their own kin
would hunt. Under this system each group hunted in new areas each year.
Ownership of the polar-fox traps took a different form. The traps were
private property. When setting new traps "behind" (i.e., to the south of)
the old ones, no permission was required, but if they were set "in front
of" the old ones (to the north), whence the polar fox came, it was essential
to have the permission of the owner of the old traps, since when the foxes
came down, they would be caught chiefly in the new ones. It was not forbidden
to hunt other animals at the sites of the traps.

601 The system of kinship among the Dolgans was the classificatory type,
882 and the terms used for kinship were Yakut. The family was of the patriarchal
type, but the young people enjoyed great freedom until they married.

771 Although the Dolgans were considered Christians and observed the external,
776 ritualistic aspects of Russian Orthodoxy, they also retained their
old animistic beliefs. Deities and spirits were divided into three categories
(the same as for the Yakuts): ichchi, or incorporeal, invisible beings, who
brought to life anything which they entered; ayyy or spirits well-disposed
towards humans; abaasy or spirits hostile towards humans and causing
various sicknesses and misfortunes; these lived in the earth and in the
underworld. A person was believed to get sick and die because the abaasy
had stolen his soul and carried it away to the underworld, and then, invading
● 756 the person, proceeded to eat him. The guardians of the people
against the wicked spirits and mediators between humans and spirits were
[171] the oyun or shamans. The shaman garb and tambourine among the Dolgans
were the same as among the Evenks.

In their religion the Dolgans worshipped the so-called saytaans. The
776 saytaans could take a great variety of forms, for example, a stone of unusual
shape or an ugly wild-deer antler. Any object could be a saytaan if a
shaman commanded a spirit, ichchi, to enter it. The saytaans were greatly
revered both as family and hunting patrons.

764 The Dolgans buried their dead in the ground. The western (Noril'sk)
Dolgans did not usually erect a log structure over the grave, but only left
[531] a mound of earth onto which they felled a tree. The eastern Dolgans built
log structures over the grave, which they often embellished with intricate
carving. A reindeer was slaughtered near the grave and the clothing in
which the deceased had died was either left on the ground or hung on the
tree.

Folklore

538 The indigenous folklore of the Dolgans was represented by riddles, tales,
historical legends, epic poems and stories of everyday life—the latter constituting the predominant type. The stories tell of the nomadic life of the Dolgans in all its real, everyday context. They are brief, but extremely varied in content. Very popular were stories of animals—their origin, their metamorphosis into people and back again. A particular group was composed